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THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

THE INTERPRETATION OF CERTAIN SYMBOLISMS

BY JAMES J. PUTNAM, M.D.

OF BOSTON

I have had the opportunity, during the past few years, to study carefully the case of an unmarried lady, about fifty years of age, a portion of whose history I have recently recorded elsewhere.¹ She was the oldest child of hard-working New England parents, typically high-minded, studious, intelligent, and strongly "religious" in their habits and traditions. The other children were two brothers, one of whom had died a good many years before I knew the patient, as had her father also, who played a part of immense importance for the development of her character and temperament. Not long before her coming to me, her mother had likewise passed away, leaving her alone except for her younger brother, who was married and had two children. As a young girl and throughout her adolescence this patient lived in a mental atmosphere strongly charged with ideas of "duty and sin," "sin and duty," to such an extent that it became very hard for her to follow her natural instincts—which were (I now believe) those of an affectionate, lively, sociable, pleasure-loving, rather imaginative person, with emotional tendencies which were in part of a somewhat immature type. Everything that, as a child, she did or abstained from doing was done or abstained from intensely, and in conscious obedience to orders—which, although kindly meant, were often ill-chosen as regards her best development—and the emotional reactions that attended her efforts at conformity were marked by strong repressions. Ill health in childhood,

¹ *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, June, 1917.

and other influences (narrow parental views on the subject of amusement, etc.) made her outward life a very restricted one, with but few of the outlets in the form of play that are of such immense importance for the growing child; and she became, in consequence, rather petulant, precocious, introvertive, self-assertive, with strong, largely unconscious longings, the nature of which it has become possible to investigate. But, hand in hand with these qualities, there went also fine, generous traits, with marked powers of self-denial and self-devotion, together with literary capacities which only needed adequate development to become excellent.

To complete this brief outline of her outward life, I will say that she went eventually to college, sacrificing, in so doing—for the sake of conformity to the wishes of her father, to whom she was passionately attached—a desire to study music, for which she had some talent. Repressed, misunderstood and unacknowledged cravings, distressing conflicts, conscious struggles against bodily weaknesses (dependent, in part, on definable disturbances of metabolism²), marked her college life. Although seeming a normal, if rather feeble person, she suffered, in silence, from typical compulsive tendencies, from a singular habit of doing and saying the wrong thing at critical moments, and from sundry other peculiarities, hostile to her peace and indicative of an un-free, more or less dissociated personality. In spite of these handicaps she was able to teach successfully during several years after graduation, and eventually to devote much time and energy to the care of her mother, with whom, however, she never felt thoroughly in sympathy and from whom she did not receive—so she believes—the genuine affection that was a daughter's due. Painfully conscious of this lack, and given to exaggerated estimates based on undue sensitiveness, she felt her emotional life checked and starved; and although her intense love for her father and her brothers (thoroughly disinterested in part, if partly the expression of a personal craving) compensated, in some measure for the unsatisfactoriness of her relations to her mother, and became, presumably, itself intensified thereby, yet the net result was an increasing tendency to self-imposed social isolation and morbid introspection. Fortunately, her intelligence, good feeling, and good sense, though worsted temporarily in these inner struggles, retained their elasticity, and the results of treatment were eminently satisfactory.

² She had a mild but troublesome Graves' disease, which necessitated constant treatment.

I have no intention of describing the course of the analysis as a whole, but only of discussing certain selected symbolisms of the patient's dreams. The justification for doing this lies mainly in the intrinsic interest of these symbolisms in themselves, partly in other considerations which will appear.

Since first attempting to describe these symbolisms and their meaning (now a number of months ago), my feeling about them and about the problems which the thought of them suggested has undergone a considerable change. In the beginning scientific curiosity was my main motive, and the symbols stood for nothing more than pointers to erotic traits which repression had concealed. As I began to write, however, with this idea in view, I felt that I was in the way of giving a one-sided impression of this patient in dwelling so strongly on these infantile tendencies that seemed so strikingly at variance with her other qualities.

Wishing, as she did, to make her experience, even if painful, of use to others and to the cause of science, the patient was ready enough to see emphasis thrown, if that seemed necessary, on the erotic, pleasure-loving, individualistic side of her character, which had grown luxuriantly in the dark, although occupying for the most part a compartment by itself.³ Also, moved by the same feelings, she was inclined to assert that even the tendencies which had seemed altruistic—her very genuine love for her father and her "religious" habits of thought—had been utilized by her as fuel for the flame of her repressed erotic fancies; and I was content, at first, to accept her view without much mental comment. The patient had written out (see below) some interesting associations connected with the idea of "air" as a creative agent, which had been aroused by the reading of Freud's "Leonardo,"⁴ where the legend is recalled of the vultures impregnated by the wind, and had embodied in them some striking memories of her early, Bible-reading days, and various thoughts that connected these memories with her father and her brother and brought to light the ardor of her love for them.

But, more and more, as I thought the matter over, I began to ask myself whether this attitude was justified, and spent much thought over the old problem, what "religion" is, and whether it has any standing in its own right as a real source of motives, or must be considered solely as the "projection" of a "wish-fantasy," and what

³ It goes without saying that these tendencies permeated, in some measure, her whole mental life.

⁴ English translation published by Moffat, Yard & Co., New York.

the bearing is of these questions on the significance of symbolism and of dreams. A similar set of inquiries arose with reference to the possible relationship between the evident philosophical and logical properties of the symbol "three"⁵ and its equally evident erotic meanings. Here, again, I may say that the patient, although amply able, by virtue of ability and inclination, to deal with logical and philosophical situations, was quite willing, at first, to minimize the more abstruse meanings of the symbol "three" as having anything to do with her choice of it as a mode of expression, and to accept the erotic associations as alone of causal value.

But as time went on I came to regard her readiness to adopt the purely erotic or "infantile-fixation" explanation, as a "symptom," and became persuaded, for myself, that certain ideas which I had for a long time entertained, but had laid aside as perhaps of little service in connection with strictly psychoanalytic work, were, after all, of practical significance for the understanding of this case.

So far as these ideas can profitably be formulated at this point, they are as follows: No wish—not even a dream wish of infantile type, that could not express itself adequately in words or even in symbols—can be entertained as if it stood for itself alone. Every wish implies a wisher, and a wisher with a personality that thrills with self-foreshadowing possibilities of adjustment to planes of development not yet clearly visible to him but determined by the fact that he is a member of a group, and a group of such a sort that its boundaries tend to widen the more he may strive to define its limits. In fact, every special group tends to dissolve into the immaterial something that corresponds to the purposes for which it came into existence and others which were implied in them. These possibilities of development tend to form a theoretically discoverable background of association for the symbols in which each wish is clothed; and if one was bent on tracing out all the thought-experiences as well as the act-experiences⁶ from which a given symbol derives its connotative meanings, it would be as important to discover and define these foreshadowings⁷ of possible adaptations to actual and ideal rela-

⁵ See below.

⁶ In fact, the difference between the two is mainly nominal.

⁷ Every man's possibilities of development are far more truly a part of him at any and every given moment than he would be inclined to admit.

"And like a pilgrim who is travelling on a road where he hath never been before, who believes that every house which he sees from afar is the hostel, and finding that it is not directs his belief to another, and so from house to house until he comes to the hostel; even so our soul, so soon as it enters

tionships as it is to discover and define the buried experiences of early childhood that linger in the form of nearly useless, or even harmful, sensuous, pleasure-giving cravings of sorts familiar to all students of psychoanalysis.

In a former paper⁸ I likened these latter cravings (unwelcome and unacknowledged by consciousness) to unwelcome and unacknowledged infants whom their parents gladly would suppress and if possible forget, and the former (the not yet thought-out thoughts and feelings) to children unborn but dreaded as sources of unmeasurable responsibility. As I have said, I had laid aside these conceptions as perhaps likely to distract my attention from the study of the infantile fantasies and fixations to which it seemed so important, as it is so difficult, to do justice. For many situations, and in the case of many patients, as where the main problem is the discovery of fairly well defined causes of specific phobias, it does indeed appear unnecessary to deal much, if at all, with considerations relating to the "whole meaning"⁹ or possibilities of development, or "aspirations" of the individual as a whole. In other cases, however, of which the present is an example, this is, I think, not true. In spite of her willingness to admit the contrary, this lady has exhibited, in increasing degree, social-sublimation longings and religi-

upon the new and never-yet-made journey of life, directs its eyes to the goal of its supreme good, and therefore whatever it sees that appears to have some good in it, it thinks to be it. And because its knowledge is at first imperfect, through having no experience or instruction, little goods appear great to it; and therefore it begins first from them in its longing. And so we see little children intensely longing for an apple, and then going on further, longing for a little bird, and then further on longing for fine clothes, and then a horse, and then a mistress, and then wealth, but not much, then much and then enormous. And this comes to pass because in none of these things does he find that *for which he is ever searching*, but believes he will find it further on."—Dante Alighieri: The Convivio, Fourth Treatise, Chap. XII, I, 146.

Every person is, in short, not only the product of theoretically definable experiences; he is also and of necessity a *searcher*, and the undefined objects of his search (which are by no means covered by motives definable as *libido*) exist in a measure as determinants of his course. After a time every one's "issues" define themselves as moral issues, as obligations, and a psychoanalytic investigation, for physician as well as for patient, is not solely an affair of reason but also an affair of morals. And the same is true of the mind itself.

⁸ *Imago*, Vol. I; reply to criticism by Dr. Ferenczi.

⁹ Cf. Josiah Royce's use of this term in various publications.

ious longings¹⁰ not wholly traceable to metamorphosed libido-strivings. This proposition is only the expression of my opinion, and it would doubtless command more ready acceptance if it could be clearly shown that a man's mental growth is not wholly dependent on a *vis a tergo*; that is, not wholly a product of biologic evolution—a process of adjustment to a "given" physical environment (and eventually a mental environment though conceived of as an out-growth of the physical)—but an attempt on the part of a really spontaneous and creative being to "find itself" in a self-creating universe of which it is a representative member. Of course, evolution as a whole would represent such an "attempt" on a large scale, and my argument would imply that the "energetic" something which underlies evolution, contains and uses, at each moment, an impulse of which human volition is the example most clearly evident to us.

Even if this proposition cannot be substantiated, however—though I believe it can be—and even if the universe is built and "works out" its destiny on some such principle as is operative in the conversion of so much heat into so much motion, it would still be necessary to reason *as if* there were such a thing as self-determination permeating and in part accounting for men's thoughts and acts. And so, too, it would be *as if* no "wish" was ever wholly "regressive" but always of such a sort as to acknowledge tacitly the existence of social and so "moral" obligations, even in an ideal sense.

But I pass on to the actual symbolisms that are to be considered, and begin with one of which the chief interest lies in its power to illustrate afresh how oddly and unexpectedly the influences act which have their main root in the erotic constituent of our unconscious wishes.

When this patient was at college, namely, her handwriting provoked comment from one of her professors, who noticed a marked tendency on her part to finish off her letters—more especially the capital letters—with elaborately long, full and rounding curves.

This peculiarity of handwriting is of a sufficiently familiar type, and various causes, amongst which a general expansiveness of temperament would figure, might be brought forward to account for it. Its principal interest lies in the fact that it had (in her estimation) a partial origin in an anal eroticism which, in its turn, is of significance as being one of several signs of an autoerotic tendency which played, indirectly, an important part in the building of her temperament.

¹⁰ That is, desire to play a part in social betterments, taking, on the one hand, a practical, on the other hand, an idealized form.

This fondness for full, rounding curves showed itself, not alone in the handwriting but in various ways, at different periods of her childhood, and one evidence of it was a marked fondness for pitchers with rounding sides, the first of which was given her by a cousin when she was but a small child, and soon afterwards broken, to her intense distress. The circumstance was trivial enough, and there would seem to be no reason for going beyond the obvious fact of a real esthetic fancy, to account for it, or for the further fact that when she was about nine years old, and first took drawing lessons, her fancy for pitchers and vases with "full, rounded sides" became almost an obsession. It is, however, of scientific interest, in view of what we know of the effect of early childhood experiences of erotic sorts, in helping to explain mental tendencies far more important than the insignificant ones here at stake, to note that these memories connected themselves with another that took her back to her third or fourth year. At that period her father took her for her first visit to the real country, which—full of eager receptivity as she was, both for things of the senses and things of the spirit—greatly aroused her interest.

"One morning we started out to walk across the fields, but I did not walk—rather I skipped by his (her father's) side for pure joy. The blue sky, the fleecy clouds, the green grass and frolicking lambs, all told of the coming of spring. . . ."

"I noticed some little specks on the grass. Of course I had to ask what they were. When I heard that they were the droppings of the lambs I became quite excited. After that I observed the habits of all animals. Being in the country gave me ample opportunity for such studies. The horse, the cow, the dog, the cat, and the pigs in the pig-sty fascinated me and started up a series of 'whys' within my inquiring mind. At the farm where I was staying the pig-sty was next to an old-fashioned 'privy.' It was built very loosely; there were big cracks between the boards. Whenever I was taken to that place, I had a good chance to notice the pigs, because they were visible through the cracks. I could see pink noses poked between the boards. I could hear grunting and squealing. I had a feeling of terror; I thought the pigs wanted to eat me. I was thankful that the hole in my own special little seat was very small, so that I could not fall through it and be devoured. Of course I was in no danger, but I was always fearful of a mishap. Some older person had charge of me, so I was perfectly safe. On our return to the house we would stop to look at the pigs. I enjoyed the sight of their little curly tails; I wondered why pigs had them and people did not. 'Oh, God made them so;—that was the invariable answer to my question."

With her present memory of these events, she believes that there was an unconscious bond of erotic interest—to which her emotional nature predisposed her, even before her visit to the country with her father—between her fancy for curving letter-appendages, her fondness for curving pitchers (and similar objects having an even more potent and private interest), and finally, her excitement, when three years old, over the pig-sty discoveries with their obvious connotations. And so, insignificant in itself, the experience acquires the interest of a typical experience. The pig-sty fascination stood for a dim and varied host of sensuous fascinations, of sorts which could be partly named, and which connected a certain phase of infancy (when the patient's active fancy worked on materials already tabooed) with another and esthetic phase, looking toward the future and seeking instinctively to utilize the sensuousness of infancy as an element in its own development. Men undertake to read temperament through a study of the handwriting, and, crude though this branch of science is, it doubtless has a certain standing. But if it ever develops further, or in proportion as it does so, this will happen in part through the medium of observations of the general type of those here given. For it is largely emotion—and if emotion, then preëminently, those forms of emotion that hint at sensuously colored experiences of kinds now prohibited—which give, perhaps not the main impulse through which customs and habits are determined, but an impulse which is of peculiar importance for a double reason: namely, partly because its appeal is strong and subtle, partly because it is withdrawn from supervision. What happened here in the case of handwriting is liable to happen, and must happen, in the case of many other customs that are more vitally important. The fact that the esthetic interest was also real made it of more service as a means of exciting a sensuous, non-esthetic, fancy (deeply founded as all anal complexes are bound to be); and the reverse was likewise true.

"The original little brown pitcher had a fat little body, with curves just like those of a pig's back. The handle of the pitcher was like a curly tail. A fat pig and a fat pitcher were linked in thought subconsciously. An interest in art became a very easy matter when founded upon such a love of curves. . . . In adding tails to letters, I was renewing a delight of early childhood, a delight dating back to my third year and to surprises at the farm. Evidently a certain chain of association lingered in my thought. In writing a paragraph of whatever nature, I felt a distinct dissatisfaction if certain letters were left tailless. My mind refused to rest until I had looked back over the work and had added all the missing tails. An internal compulsion made me do this."

The "internal compulsion" of which this patient speaks was, however, a compulsion not only to gratify a sensuous impulse of self-indulgence, but to utilize in this gratification a habit dedicated in its own right to another purpose of greater social value; and in yielding to the temptation to do this the patient was, on a small scale and with reference to a trivial matter, both denying for the moment the sense of obligation to this social allegiance and also, by that very act, admitting its binding force. It will appear more clearly in the discussion of the other symbolisms referred to in this paper, how important this double process is for the daily life of every man. For every one has, not the right only, but the duty and the instinct, both to strive for a broader, more adequate expression of his best aims as a member of society, and also, in doing this, to utilize in the best way his emotional and sensuous endowment—that part of him which, with more gifted persons, might express itself in poetry, in music, or in art of fine sorts. In accomplishing this task the danger is continuously present that he may prostitute his best desires to the chance of reinforcing, to the point of excess, these emotional and sensuous elements in his nature, instead of utilizing the latter to enrich the former. That is, he may sensualize and sexualize his religion and his best forms of love. But those motives, which he dimly feels to be bonds of relationship with the community and the universe at its best, still remain as possible sources of rehabilitation and progress. And whatever one may say of so doing as a practical proposition, it is theoretically within the right and duty of every physician to see that his patients realize the significance of both terms of this conflict, or antithesis. Willing and wishing to sympathize with others who follow the less good paths in these respects and find themselves driven helplessly before the gusts of passion, we are bound to observe carefully the less obvious successes and failures that are taking place before our eyes. Every one does this on a small scale, and one hears (as described in biographical and romantic literature) the praises of those who succeed and the criticisms of those who fail. A great many successes and failures are, however, deeply hidden from superficial view, and it is only through searching methods of psychoanalytic investigation that they are brought to light.

I have next to say something about certain symbolisms related to *muscular- or movement-erotism*. The remarks will best be grouped about certain recurrent dreams, of which I will briefly report two. The muscular feelings of excitement or relaxation here referred to pass over without a break into those related to respiratory, or air-

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erotism, and also to the father-complex, as well as to the domination and inferiority complexes; from which points one can travel as much further as one will.

Ogre dream, of frequent occurrence in childhood:

"I see myself wandering through an empty house. Suddenly a dreadful ogre rushes out from one of the rooms and pursues me. Without wings I seem to go up stairs and yet not touch them with my feet. I hide in dark closets to escape the ogre. Then I hear him coming and I hurry on in the greatest fear. Now I am far in advance, now he almost grasps me. Then when I have reached the last gasp, one of two things happens; either the roof opens and I float out heavenward in relief and joy, or else I fall to the floor in a little heap of exhausted despair. At that instant the ogre disappears."

This dream, familiar in type, gains in interest when taken in connection with the next.

"My mother, my sister, and myself are living in a fine old-fashioned mansion. It is light and airy, having many windows. The lovely white-enamel wood-work delights me; but there is no furniture in the rooms. They are absolutely bare. The house stands in the midst of a beautiful park where magnificent oaks are so close together that a bird's-eye view of their tops would show a carpet of green. I seem to see myself high in the air enjoying such a view. In fact, during the first few moments of the dream, I am outside of the house looking at it and finding pleasure in its beauties and the charm of its situation. My mother and sister¹¹ are in an inner room of this big, square mansion. While dreaming I am conscious that they also represent myself. Then I am in the house with them. Without warning there comes, from within me, a sensation as of some force active there. In an instant it is outside of and in pursuit of me. Beginning like a gentle breeze, it increases until it has the strength of a hurricane which nothing can withstand. To escape its power I run into a hall, and bolt behind me three doors there. I have shut my mother and sister in with that 'dreadful something'! But no: it cannot be confined. It passes through the bolted doors to my side of them. Then the 'force' is no longer simply a force, but it becomes a person with a purpose. I rush out into the park. My feet leave the ground. With a superhuman effort I make my way

¹¹ Cf. Stekel: *Ueber den Traum*. I do not, however, fully agree with the author in his view, held at the time of publication of this valuable work (*q. v.*), that these sensuous symbolisms represent sensuality alone. Reasons for a broader view are here presented.

in the air to the tree-tops where I walk along on the huge boughs from tree to tree, trying to conceal myself beneath, or behind the foliage. I look for the pursuer. There he is below me—he is likewise looking for me. It is a man on horseback. The horse is high-spirited, is turning in circles, and his head is held erect by the rider's firm grasp on the short reins. The horse cannot throw that man. I watch them with interest. Then I find myself awake."

This dream opens up a number of problems which I pass by. Its momentary interest centers in the breeze-like force, felt at first within herself, then outside, and eventually assuming the characteristics of her father, who was positively identified by her as the person on horseback upon whom she gazed with admiration. The father here corresponds in part to the creative yearnings which were so strong in her, and of which he was at once the (acquired) object and the symbolic expression. Such a child is like a person who has drunk of the love-philter, and whose need to give and feel love transcends any of the special forms and outlets that are found for it in the course of evolutionary history. But what is, in the last analysis, the nature and source of this need to give and feel love, which is so deeply founded in every human being? Is it solely of evolutionary origin, and does it exist solely in the interest of the budding sex-life which is soon to play so important a rôle? The study of man's social history and instincts and of his unconquerable, unappeasable idealism contradicts this view. If behind the father-, or mother-love there lies, on one side, the individualistic, sensuous needs of the child, it is equally true that beyond the father, in the other direction, there lies a dim recognition of that for which "fatherhood" stands, in an ideal sense. But, to get this in its full form, the child must go beyond his experience, and get an inkling of the possibilities of development, or "complete meaning" of his own mind and personality. "Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis." The father as person—deeply and sensuously loved as such, it may be—is "vergänglich" in this sense, but points to ideal possibilities of desire which are not thus "vergänglich."

This seems to me worth saying, because too much is sometimes made of the "father-love," or "father-complex" as standing as a model, or serving as a category, for so much else that happens later; as determining, for example, both the form and substance of the religious attitude, define it as one may. The argument is true, but not the whole truth. So far-reaching—in a sense, so all-embracing—an emotion like that of love, which appeals so strongly to sensuous,

personal desires, upon the one side, and upon the other to a rational disinterestedness of the highest type, in which personal claims and wishes become merged in social claims and wishes, cannot profitably be defined from any single standpoint. For human nature, like the universe, has its deep, unresolvable paradoxes, such as those which appear when one deals with such conceptions and contrasts as "body and mind," "substance and essence," "the many and the one," and which imply the existence of two real poles—real in their separateness and equally real in their essential unity—as real and as mutually essential as the polarities in electricity.

The strongly socialized, idealized forms of love do not exist simply as branchings-out of anything that could be thought of as a sexual *libido*. They exist also as in their own right, and while they are interpenetrated with *libido*, in Freud's sense, the truer statement is that both are expressions of an everywhere operative, self-active, creative energy.

So, too, while the religious feelings (take them as one will), between which and the feelings of love close affinities exist, must have their sensuous and erotic leanings (for this is only tantamount to saying that they have an evolutionary history), it is also true that sensuous feelings often have their religious leanings, and may, if rightly used, enrich by their presence the fineness of the religious feelings. By "religious feelings," in this sense, I mean the feelings based on the recognition of the transcendent, self-active element in ourselves and in the life outside,¹² by virtue of which men are able to preserve their independence and yet to merge their desires in efforts and wishes for the welfare of the community in the widest sense.

¹² It is obvious that the views here presented are related, in certain of their trends, to opinions which others,—notably Jung, and in some respects Adler,—have expressed, though still more to another's, here unnamed.

It should, however, be said that Adler's (and Nietzsche's) doctrines, while they imply the underlying sociality of man's instincts as a basis for his instinctive self-assertion, do not accord to the larger conception its due place. "Dominance" is not the best foundation for an ideal society.

Also, as regards Jung, while I sympathize with his recognition of the parental-complex as not wholly covered by the sensuous element contained in it and as based partly on a "religious" instinct, which Freud would consider as due to fantasy alone (cf. his "Geschichte der psychoanalytischen Bewegung," English trans. No. 25, Nerv. and Ment. Dis. Monog. Se.), yet I think that Jung fails in almost discarding the sensuous, and especially the infantile sensuous elements altogether. Nor does he, I think, note that the sensuous owes its intensification, in part, to the recognition, and at the same time the defiant setting at naught, of the more spiritual obligations.

Nevertheless, it is certainly true that the principal gain or satisfaction, instinctively sought, and won, by my patient, through these fancies, was of a sensuous, erotic character, as the following remarks will show:

"The Bible," she writes, "was familiar to me from the very beginning of my own personal history. At home we had family prayers every day, and all the children read Bible-verses. The description of the creation was fascinating in the extreme. My imagination pictured each detail.

"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form and void . . ."

"I wondered how the earth could *take on form*; then I learned that God could create something out of nothing—at least that was the way I interpreted what was told me.

"In Matthew xix, 26, we read:

"But Jesus beheld them and said unto them, With men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible.'

"So I believed that God could do anything. Among many questions which demanded an answer, were these important ones: Where did little brother come from? Ans. From heaven. Who made him? Ans. God created him. Did God make me? Ans. Yes, God made you; God made you and—and gave you to us. This reasoning caused me to think that only one thing was necessary to bring a little child into the world. That one thing was a fiat of the Almighty. God had said: 'Let there be light,' and there was light. Now He might say: 'Let there be a child,' and there would be a child. The simplicity of this was awe-inspiring, but did not wholly satisfy curiosity. I wanted to know the *how* of everything. I bent over my Bible again. 'And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.' (Genesis i, 2.) To me it seemed that not only did the Spirit move, but the waters moved also, because He hovered over them. I think the story of the pool of Bethesda had something to do with this idea:

"In these (five porches) lay a great multitude of impotent folk, of blind, halt, withered, *waiting for the moving of the water*. . . . For an angel went down at a certain season into the pool and troubled the water. Whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole of whatsoever disease he had."

"That person had a new lease of life. Therefore, in one sense, healing can be considered a creative act. But I was not so much

concerned about the healing as about the moving of the water. I pictured the Spirit of God as *troubling the water*, far back in the days before the world was. But what was the Spirit of God like? The Bible helped me out on that point. The story of Pentecost was very instructive:

"And when Pentecost was fully come, they were all together with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from Heaven as of a rushing mighty wind; and it filled all the house where they were sitting."

"With great interest I read the next verse:

"And they were filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance."

"Some people may say that mentally I was in deep water. Nevertheless I remember having had these thoughts long before I knew the truth about birth. I had the idea that air in motion and water in motion were both somehow connected with birth. Hence my interest in bubbling springs. The 'mighty wind' was the Holy Spirit. The story of the Immaculate Conception made me feel quite certain that I was right:

"And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called, The Son of God."

"Yes, here was God saying unto Mary: Let there be a child.

"One of my dreams has been difficult for me to understand, but this childhood belief may help to explain a part of it. In the dream about the three bolted doors, the force which was like a 'mighty wind,' and passed through them, may have represented this same birth (impregnation) fancy.

"In another dream, where my brother is leaping from a cliff to a beach below, the association connected with the word 'beach' brought to light the fact that one of my chief delights was going with him to a beautiful spring of water which was covered at high tide but was pure and fresh at other times. So 'wind' and 'water' met (in my thought) and together they brought back to consciousness the early ideas as to procreation, ideas which I had absolutely forgotten."

Investigation has made it clear, that in this patient's childhood fancy the conceptions of father, husband, child, mother, were fused or closely interwoven.

The evidence afforded by clinical research makes it seem probable that, underlying and partly determining these relatively elaborate and later fantasies, the idea of the power of wind has a more personal autoerotic root in the unconscious recognition of physiological processes in which this element figures. The analysis brought out the probable existence of this root in this patient's case, and the following incident is of interest, partly in that connection and partly as binding the various ideas together:

In early adult life the patient had a somewhat serious illness which required the prolonged attention of an eminent physician in another city, whom she came to take as a substitute for her father and to treat with undue confidence. Of the physician's part in taking advantage of the patient's confidence I will say nothing. A number of years after the treatment at his hands had ceased she saw him for a few moments once again, in an almost incidental way, and on returning home threw herself, fatigued, upon her bed, for a few moments' rest. In the interests of refreshment she began taking deep breaths, and then the feeling came over her that in her deep inspirations she was somehow entering again into peculiarly intimate relations with this person. Finally, as she made a long expiration, it seemed to her that a symbolic birth-act was taking place, and that she was giving birth to his child.

It is easy to see that an idea of this sort might have occurred without reference to any specific function of the inspired and expired air. In the patient's mind, however, this reference did play a part, and illustrated the fantastic conceptions that have been above recorded.¹³

The next piece of symbolism of which I wish to speak has reference to the number 3 (or the idea of triplication, or triangulation), which figured with great frequency in my patient's dreams, in ways that the following citation will indicate:

¹³ Both primitive and medieval literature give evidence of widespread mystical conceptions as to the fructifying power of air or wind; and the same is true of the fantasies of childhood, which still weave themselves so strangely around the assumed connection between the taking of food, its fate within the body and the marvellous power of the feces to fructify the land. In all this process "air" or "wind" plays a part rated as very important. The subject is too large and too familiar to call for references, but I would cite, as especially important, Dr. Ernest Jones's paper, *Die Empfängniss der Jungfrau Maria durch das Ohr* (Jahrb. f. Psychoanalyse, Bd. VI, 1914). Freud's "Leonardi da Vinci" (now to be had in English) takes up, in the same sense, the old popular belief in the impregnating power of the air, with special reference to the impregnation of the vulture.

Dream I. The patient is walking on the edge of a steep cliff. Her brother, clad in bathing costume, comes up behind her and then precipitates himself on to the beach below. She climbs down painfully and with difficulty to aid him. While trying to rescue him, three girls, dressed identically, come to her aid, and one of them takes off and gives her a white sweater, which she puts on her brother.

(Investigation seems to show that these three girls are triplifications of herself, but as favored with a degree of health and youth and vigor that had been foreign to her. The white sweater recalls one actually presented to this brother by his mother.)

Dream II. Three girls of a physical type somewhat analogous to the preceding seem to be taking possession of a room which the patient had occupied, in a certain boarding-place. There is some dispute about the ownership of a watch and pin that had for some time been hanging on the entry-wall, and the patient snatches them, saying that they were more hers by right than theirs, and had been there long before they came.

The girls appear as rivals (*i. e.*, as implying conflicting interests within herself), perhaps with some homosexual connotation, especially as the patient had recently broken off a close relationship of this sort of many years' standing.

Dream III. In a long and elaborate dream, the triplification-tendency seemed to be illustrated in seven or eight different ways. A strongly "exhibitionist" tendency comes out in parts of this dream (as in various others and in numerous experiences). At one point, three girls, dressed identically in a material of dark blue color (this color was for her a father-emblem, as having been much liked by him), sit Turkish fashion on a flat roof, supported on pillars which one of them climbed, during the dream, in exhibitionist fashion. At another point a "barge-like" house was to be seen, with glass sides (exhibitionism) which entirely covered a small "island" in the midst of a pond or lake. This structure had three horizontal floors (or partitions) of the same size and shape; one below, as if resting on the ground, one at the top, and a third at an intermediate position. When the patient looked again, these partitions had become heart-shaped.

Dream IV. In this dream the patient passed through a "cultivated, fertile strip of land," lying between two avenues, and in it twelve palm¹⁴ trees grew, arranged in three rows of four each.¹⁵

¹⁴ The palm trees occurred here, obviously, with a mainly phallic meaning, while in another dream they carried death connotations. "Death" in her

Dream V. *Twelve steps lead up from a partly underground basement (grocery shop) and her "double" (her close friend for many years; see above) is mounting them, followed by the dreamer herself. Having reached the sixth step her friend bends backward and falls.¹⁶ She, being on the third step, catches her, and carrying her back into the store places her on some empty orange-boxes. The store contains, otherwise, raisins and oranges, but nothing else.*

In another dream, the patient's intimate friend (the two being present at a musical entertainment) makes *three* attempts to sing and then collapses to the ground.

Passing by a number of analogous situations in which *three* appears as if with some significance of meaning, I will refer to a single symbol in a long dream (VII)—a roll, namely, of wall paper which carries a design made up of three ("or five") pale blue¹⁷ wavy lines, alternating with one red line, the whole design being repeated many times.

Finally, I give one more dream (VIII) for the reason that the symbol occurs in it, for the only time, in the definite form of a triangle.

Dream VIII. *"I was awake for a few seconds, then fell asleep and had another dream. Again I heard a voice. It said: 'What did you have for dinner . . . supper?' To answer the question I did not mention what I had had for any meal, but I was much surprised to find myself holding a paper bag in my right hand. Into the bag I saw myself put three triangular-shaped raspberry tarts such as I had had for breakfast the day before. Strangely enough the tarts did not drop to the bottom of the bag. Therefore, there was nothing but air there. I was much astonished. Only a child would* fantasies, however, was closely related to birth, as was shown strikingly in one "buried alive" dream, in which she rejoiced to note that the slab of stone over the grave was raised some inches from the ground.

¹⁵ This dream (see below) has interesting homosexual or bisexual features, in which the patient and her mother figure.

¹⁶ In another dream (VI), into which *three* does not enter but which may help to explain the last, the patient mounts a step-ladder behind her mother, "fearing that she will fall" and wishing to support her, though in fact she (the patient) comes up so abruptly as almost to push her mother off. Her mother then bends toward a shelf to place something upon it (other dreams show the shelf to be a sexual symbol) and reaches over her shoulder, as if to do the same thing (domination and hostility). Her mother's hand and wrist, and likewise her own, become invisible (*i. e.*, she does not like to think of them—doubtless, in part, for reasons familiar to every psychoanalyst).

¹⁷ Her father's favorite color.

answer such a question in such a way. I was quite disgusted, and heard myself exclaiming (in the dream): 'How infantile!'"

To any one whose interest in such matters as are here discussed goes beyond the simple gratification of curiosity, the study of number symbolisms is of absorbing interest. At first sight, numbers seem contrived for utilitarian and scientific ends alone, and it is, therefore, peculiarly impressive to find them serving as symbols of emotion, especially sex-emotions.¹⁸ But, in fact, the emotional significance attaching to numbers as standing for "groups"—as, a pair, a handful, a lot, a crowd (and, by contrast, a single one) etc.—is obviously very great,¹⁹ and points to a use of numbers that long preceded the "enumeration" of the relatively educated man. The flexibility and variability of any series of numbers and their interchangeability with geometrical forms makes them peculiarly fitted for use as symbols. Medieval art and ecclesiastical history abound in illustrations of this principle, but I will cite only one which for a double reason is suited to our present purposes. This is the familiar isosceles-triangle-shaped figure, representing the virgin or some other person typifying the Church, who stands draped in a symmetrically spreading robe, sheltered beneath which are two or more protected "children."

That numbers and forms (especially the triangle) are used with sensuous meanings, is, indeed, a matter of common knowledge, and all students of dreams are, furthermore, aware how almost inconceivably elaborate are the games—as it were—which the unconscious imagination plays with itself, where numbers are the pawns that stand for persons and situations which, in their turn, represent interests of deep emotional importance to the dreamer. The emotional interest attaching to numbers may be more especially general, or mystic, as where—to take a trivial instance—peculiar significance is attributed to the third "shock," or third attempt ("which never fails"), or to "three" as standing, even among primitive peoples, for a group, of indefinite size, etc.; or it may be more especially specific, as where (as is common enough in dreams) a street-number stands for a certain person, or a special date and number is made unhallowed by painful experiences. These two sorts of usage merge and overlap and are often interchangeable, and if I distin-

¹⁸ Lévy-Bruhl: *Les Fonctions Mentales dans les Sociétés Inférieures*, 1910; Von Hug-Hellmuth: *Einige Beziehungen zwischen Erotik and Mathematik*. *Imago*, IV Jahrg., 1915, H. 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

guish between them at all it is only for convenience sake and to suggest a possible means of delimitation of a large subject.

It is certain that "three" is felt as one of the most significant of numbers (whether regarded as a numeral, as a figure—in its Arabic or its Roman form—or in the form of the triangle, or as signifying triplification); and also that it has certain well-marked sex-meanings, both masculine and feminine in nature. Usener's book, "Ueber die Dreiheit," tells with laborious care what a part this number has played in ancient and medieval history, but seems to find for it no further psychological significance than as representing the indefinite form of multiplicity, or an intensification to which duplication leads up. In Christian and in Pagan art, the representations of the deity appear doubled or tripled, in identical forms, as in several of my patient's dreams.

Eugene Tavenner's interesting paper²⁰ on "three" as a magic number in old Roman times, gives another series of related data which help to show how widespread the use of this symbol is, as a group-designation, and prepare one to believe that where the number three comes in dreams it is to be thought of, not as a case of fanciful happening but as evidence, one must believe, partly of the grip of a strong and universal interest of a specific sort, partly of a typical mode of working of the mind.

But Tavenner goes no further in his explanation of this tendency than Usener, whose theory he cites.

In essence, this theory is historical and not psychological, *i. e.*, not brought into relation with the genesis of the mental interests and functions. Valuable though it doubtless is, the explanation offered by these writers needs to be supplemented in two directions, which the words "genesis of the mental functions," if taken broadly, will serve to indicate. Tavenner says:

"It is a well-known fact that certain Brazilian and other savage tribes count on the joints of one finger, bringing their systems of definite numbers to a close with *two*. Under such conditions the notion of *three* is indicated by the expression *two one*, four by the expression *two two*, etc., while the number which has the third place in such savage systems means not *three* but *many*.²¹ 'Our Indo-Germanic ancestors,' continues Usener, 'must have remained for a long time at the stage

²⁰ Three as a Magic Number in Latin Literature. Trans. of the Am. Philological Assn., Vol. XLVII, 1916.

²¹ Taylor (Primitive Culture, 3d Amer. ed., 1, 242 ff.) and other students of anthropology give ample evidence of the present existence among backward tribes of number systems ending in two and three.

where they counted on the joints of one finger in this way. The further advance to *four*, *five*, and the decimal system seems to have been both rapid and easy.²² For this reason the numbers two and three made a very lasting impression in their popular speech, their religion, their folk lore, and their magic. We have only to recall our own expression that 'two is a company, three is a crowd,' and the German saying, 'Einer ist keiner, zwei viele, drei eine Menge,' to convince ourselves that there was really a time when, to our ancestors, three meant an indefinitely large number, beyond the limits of the definite number system. So also Diels has reached the conclusion that the number three derived its peculiar magic value from the fact that it was "die ursprüngliche Endzahl der primitiven Menschheit."²² This seems to be the most probable explanation of the origin of the belief in the great magic power of the number three."

The direct evidence as to the meaning of the symbol given by my patient was but slight, but this fact, in itself, is of a certain interest. She felt its intensification-value—its "many" or manifold significance—and still more, though entirely vaguely, its sensual or erotic significance, though she could not or did not trace this out. Knowing, however, as we do, that the triangle has long stood as a sign both of masculinity and femininity (and sometimes, as here, of both at once), this failure (in so far as it is not to be laid at my door) points to the repression of an erotic emotion pressing for recognition, and it is doubtless in this direction that the interest in the symbol is largely to be sought. Its use may not be confined simply to the revealing and concealing of a sensuous feeling or emotion. In my patient's case its employment hints, I think, at a recognition of ambisexual tendencies on her part, in which respect it is classifiable with several other very striking symbols to which reference cannot be made in this paper.

Not only is this true, but there is another very important meaning to which "three" inevitably points—namely, in standing for father, mother, child, that group so deeply important for every person's life, as each one's personal experience verifies and as the history of the Holy Family brings out in striking form.

The other universally valid connotation for the number three relates to its significance as recalling the logical and philosophical mental processes, of which, as I believe, every person is subconsciously aware, not so much through his intelligence and reason as through his feeling. Three legs, or feet, are not more typically es-

²² Archiv. f. Gesch. d. Philosophie, X (1897), 232; and Festschrift f. Th. Gomperz, p. 8, n. 3.

sential, or typically adequate, for the support of a table or a stool than is the syllogism for the founding of a reasoned-out conclusion. Neither is this sort of logical process—with which the famous Hegelian triad may, for present purposes, be grouped—more important in its place than is the kindred fact that every typical mental process implies an assertion, a negation of this assertion as insufficient and imperfect, and then a return to the universal positive which every one feels within him, as to a never-to-be-exhausted source of help in the further search for truth. Analogous to this, again, is the implication of subject, object, and process as a triad essential to many mental acts, as in the statement of a proposition, and the threefold aspect (of reason, feeling and will) under which the mind is so frequently described.

Finally, there are interesting social relationships of a triadic sort that are not fully covered by the formula "Two's company, three's a crowd," or by the conception of the family as a special group. It will be remembered that there are many men, as Freud has pointed out, who are capable of love yet who cannot develop this capacity to the full extent, except in the presence of a rival. Of course, as originally described by Freud, the "love" in question was conceived of as of a rather sensuous sort, but I believe that the situation is more broadly significant than this idea would indicate. Many excellent people fail to see favorable elements in various relationships in which they are chief actors, until another's praise of their good fortune, or the danger of losing some advantage accruing to them through another's rivalry, forces this recognition on their notice.

Another highly interesting triadic relationship, negatively analogous to the last mentioned, is that described by Royce²³ under the name of the "community of interpretation." The relationship of two persons (diadic) contains, as Royce points out, certain elements of special danger or of weakness, due to competition, misunderstanding, lack of confidence, etc. But if then there comes in a suitable third person (the insurance agent, for example, who intermediates between the individual beneficiary and the public, as represented by the company) a peculiarly satisfactory basis of understanding may become established. A child may—one might suppose—establish such a relationship between disagreeing parents.

The question is now pertinent: Is there any reason to believe that any of these more elaborate meanings were in my patient's thoughts; and if so, how did they bear upon the problem, why she found so great enjoyment in the number "three" as a symbol?

²³ See, especially, *War and Insurance*. Macmillan, 1914.

With regard to the first points, I can say that the lady in question has always shown a strong interest in logical processes of all sorts, and particularly in the kinds of relationships here in question.

Also, in my opinion, it is fair to consider that such processes, which every thinking man finds more or less congenial, imply the existence of innate mental qualities which every one can claim some share of and which no one can escape the self-imposing obligation to employ. Of course, however, the degree to which they are employed varies very widely.

It is highly probable that, when it comes to seeking, instinctively, for sensuous regressions—as in dreams—the forms of sensuousness which are (to some persons) peculiarly gratifying (just because peculiarly at variance with convention) are those in which motives and feelings which contain elements of (real) spiritual or intellectual aspiration are utilized in the service of erotic cravings. There is a spice of adventure in every protest, even if instinctive and unconscious, against taboos of every sort—as for example, in the use of oaths. Janet makes this clear in his excellent descriptions²⁴ of the obsessed patients who feel compelled, in church, to imagine themselves desecrating the sacred and consecrated utensils for purposes commonly thought of as unclean²⁵ or vile. It is doubtless the contrast that attracts, in the case of the acts inspired by the anal complex, and the root may be the same in both cases. Indeed, the principle involved is so well recognized that I should not have referred to it but for its interest in connection with these number dreams.

It is an interesting fact that this patient's younger brother, when between three and four years old, made great use of a similar tendency, after the following fashion: Evidently wishing—in fantasy—to intensify his own divergent feelings through objectification and projection, he imagined himself represented by three boys to whom he gave highly original names, which I must not here reproduce but will designate by the numbers "One," "Two" and "Three," respectively, while "Four" may stand for him, himself. "Two" was a boy of mischievous tendencies, "Three" a good boy, whereas "One" was a boy whose tendencies were neither good nor bad. For what then did "One" stand? It is improbable that this very young child worked out any of the philosophical or psychological issues here at stake, but it is the belief of my patient, his sister, that

²⁴ *Les Obsessions et la Psychasthenie*. Felix Alcan, ed., Paris, 1903.

²⁵ The fact that the German officers yielded, largely, to this temptation, during their stay in the chateaux of France, is of considerable interest.

their germs may well have been present to his mind. "One" was certainly not colorless for him, as it might have been supposed it would be, and in trying to define what position it did occupy it is interesting to discover that²⁶ the word "neuter," to which the negative meaning of "neither," "sexless," etc., is usually given, is really to be thought of as implying "both," and especially both masculine and feminine. An analogy would perhaps be the third term in the Hegelian dialectic, or the "conclusion" which strives to embody what there is of value in both of two discordant or discrepant propositions. Or, again, to take a biologic simile of genetic interest, one might think of the "undifferentiated" cell, which, through division, is destined to create two other, more highly specialized cells, of diverging functions. However this may be, these three personages played a considerable part in this boy's life. When he had done anything wrong he would throw the blame from himself on to "Two," who would then be banished from the group, which was thus reduced to "Three," "One" and himself.

But then, partly through the influence of his mother, who entered into the game but used it to reinforce her discipline, it would be made to appear that "Three" should not and would not stay in this diminished group because it was evident that he himself was really guilty in company with "Two" and could not shift his responsibility so easily. This idea, that the virtuous "Three" should be banished, distressed him very greatly and he would instantly decide to be good himself and thus bring back "Three" and also "Two." No matter what happened "One" always remained, like the "organ point" which gives unity to a series of changing chords. An analogous unity is that which preserves the changing "personality" intact through change, or which expresses itself in the concept "the many and the one."

In further discussion of the meanings of "three" as a symbol, my patient suggested that it had for her the signification of "completeness," as implying, for example, "all the love there is," all the possible amount of intensification and the like.²⁷

It is obvious that this idea coincides largely with that of Usener and Tavenner, in whose conceptions three stands for a symbol of an indefinite "many." But it means, perhaps, not only many in the

²⁶ As I am informed by Dr. J. S. Van Teslaar, on the basis of careful study of the subject.

²⁷ Cf. the dream into which the house enters, which was built with three heart-shaped superimposed floors or parallel, horizontal partitions.

sense of an indefinite "lot," but signifies, as has been said, "completeness," so many that one could not work for more, the three legs of the stool which support it firmly, the unity of masculine plus feminine, implied in "neuter" or in the concept of hermaphroditism regarded as "true."

It has been suggested that the extremely common use of triplification in heraldry (three spears, three boars' heads, etc.) conveys this idea of completeness or perfection, and my patient believes that it figures as a basis for the use of the symbol, in her case, alongside of the erotic connotation.

A consideration of the mixture of motives implied in these various possible sorts of uses of the number and symbol "three" exhibits as probable the presence of psychological tendencies on my patient's part, not alone in one direction but in two opposite directions, and it is the establishment of this proposition that is the main purpose of this paper.

I believe, namely, that one should recognize as important not alone the regressive tendency, the seeking of opportunities for sensuous enjoyment of a subtle sort—implying a species of defiant prostitution of a possible higher meaning in the interest of a concealed lower meaning—in this use, even in dreams, of symbols of double or multiple signification but also the tendency to accept and acknowledge as valid the "better standard which is departed from." It is as if the patient was to say: "I admit my obligation to support the actual and ideal social standards from which I regress, even though I seem, in regressing, to repudiate them. In fact, I derive a peculiarly acute satisfaction, of a sensuous sort, from the very fact that I deny, for the moment, their prior and transcendent claims."

The next symbolisms to which attention will be called relate to the always important subject of theft, where the motive of mere acquisition is practically absent. A far better designation of this form of thieving (which would embrace most instances of so-called kleptomania) would be "symbolic," and the object of its analysis should be to discover the infantile roots of the desire symbolized and to get—in accordance with the foregoing argument—such hints as one can of the double or multiple tendencies at work and the relative value of each.

It is reasonable to believe, as has been asserted, that for some cases the mere secret handling of forbidden objects carries with it something of the gratification and excitement that attends more obvious forms of autoerotic handling, which are thus recalled. I

cannot reject the possibility that this element was present here. It is likely to have played no great part, however, if only because the number of the thefts was so small, and certainly it pales in significance when compared with certain other influences, namely, the longing for self-assertion (sought partly in compensation, partly for its own value), and the desire to possess and own her father and her brother, to whom she was so passionately devoted.

The occasion of the stealings and the objects stolen were, in brief, as follows: (1) a pear from a fruit-stand in childhood, taken in bravado and immediately thrown away; (2) "three" doses of an effervescent medicine belonging to her brother—trifling theft enough, but sufficient to call down reprobation from him and of special interest for special reasons; (3) certain books; (4) two pocket-books from a store; (5) some bits of lace; (6) a belt, too large for her; (7) certain small pearl buttons.

Two dream-thefts were also of much interest. One involved the (symbolic) taking of her sister-in-law's children, and the other an analogous theft, perhaps indirectly related to this, but in which she herself figures as the person stolen from. Finally, there was a significant temptation to take certain brass hinges and other door-furnishings which had curious associations.

1. The pear theft is described by the patient herself as follows:

"To have the upper hand gave a kind of exultation. It was a form of excitement filled with fascination. Not far from my father's office there was a fruit store. Sometimes the owner stood in the doorway. Sometimes he was half concealed in the darkness of the room. But wherever he might be, he kept an eye on the fruit stand in front of the store. Just because he was so afraid that something would be taken from him, for that very reason I longed to snatch a pear or an apple and dash out of sight before he could seize me. I did not want the fruit. I wanted to 'beat him at his own game.' He made me think of an ugly spider ready to spring on some one. I would take good care that he did not catch *me* (but she longed to have him do so, as he had caught other children with whom she longed to be, in a sense, identified²⁸).

²⁸ Cf. the "pursuit" dreams above. The pleasure of pursuit and even of capture recalled childhood experiences (as is so common) with a favorite uncle in whom she saw virtually her father, and also the memory of not-infrequent fallings through tripping and the like, as a consequence of her poor eyesight, which were made sweet for her through the pettings and consolings from her father himself, by which they were often followed.

The right moment came; in a twinkling I was off with a pear,—in another twinkling I had thrown the trophy away. At first I felt quite fine over my exploit. But then the New England conscience came into play—‘It is a sin to steal a pin. It is a *sin* to steal a pin.’ I never confessed the sin, however. For a long time, whenever I passed that store, involuntarily I quickened my steps.”

2. The effervescent-salts theft contains, in the patient’s estimation, a meaning of the following sort: from her earliest years and as an outcome of her Bible studies, this imaginative patient had had special fantasies about procreation and bubbling springs, a portion of which have already been described in her own words with special reference to her longing to be identified with her brother, who occupied much the same place with her father in her longings. The drinking of her brother’s “bubbling spring” of effervescent salts signified, for her unconscious fancy, this gratification of her longing for identification with him. In itself (*i. e.*, regarded as a piece of gross appropriation of property), the theft had no meaning and corresponded to no need.

3. The book theft was symbolic of her hunger of mind and soul, and, in particular, expressive of her longing for her father’s stronger and stronger love, since the reading of books was his breath of life and constant habit, and closely associated with him. It was (though probably not in an uncomplicated sense) like the taking of a flower associated with him. But the element of secrecy and the breaking of bonds to which she felt allegiance—and which for his sake she broke—doubtless played its part.

None of the articles taken were kept by the patient. The books were given away to persons whose possession of them had a particular interest for her, and they were replaced by others that would have a greater value, as she thought, for the second-hand book dealer from whom she took them.

The articles numbered 4 and 5, which were taken up but never carried away at all, seem to have had the following (principal) significance: No. 4 (the pocket-book)²⁹ and No. 5 (the baby lace) point to her longing for a child, a probability which is intensified by the fact that she had been reading and was engaged in translating a novel entitled “Lace,” referring to a present of lace from a lover to his lady.

No. 6 (the too large white belt) suggested pregnancy.

No. 7 (the small pale blue pearl buttons) hint at the same mean-

²⁹ A not uncommon dream-symbol in the sense of the vagina.

ing, partly because of the special significance of shoe-buttons (with reference to the well-attested meanings of foot and shoe) testified to an interesting piece of symbolism occurring in a dream which I have not space to give.

The brass hinges, lock and door fastenings, which she was tempted to take under peculiar conditions, were positively felt to have the same significance with the buttons. They refer, namely, to the possible closing and opening of doors to her own mansion, in a sense made clear in the ogre dream and the wind dreams ("pursuit" dreams) which I reported earlier. At about the same time that this dream was had, the patient was under the compulsion mentioned at the outset, of doubly locking her own chamber-door.

I have thought it worth while to mention all these matters because of the peculiar interest which always attaches to the evidence that theft experiences are not always—perhaps far less often than they seem—the vulgar performances of an anti-social personage. For my patient—to accept her own estimate—the thefts were tinged with the excitement that always accompanies a reaching outside of the conventional and socially lawful, toward a reward felt to belong, by natural law, to him who has the boldness to demand his felt due. It is a case of the individual against the community; and while psychoanalysts and patients, as citizens, should feel themselves as much the guardians of the community as any other men, yet they are also in a position to comprehend with peculiar force the longings and cravings of the individual. In my patient's case these cravings were strongly for maternity and for her mother's rights in her father and her brother. These points are brought out yet more strongly by the following two dreams which testify, inferentially, to the strength of the social motives which were set aside or sacrificed for the intensification of the sensuous and personal motives.

The dreamer saw herself on the street in swift pursuit of her sister-in-law, and a moment later was tearing a pair of ear-rings from her ears. The dreamer then turned and was herself pursued by her sister-in-law, who ran after her presumably to take the ornaments away. There was a house further up on the right-hand side of the street. The front of the house looked as if it had been struck by a bomb. The front basement-wall was no longer there; the place was open to the light of day. The dreamer and her sister-in-law ran to this house. The steps ascending to the front door were partly destroyed; the drawing-room was in ruins, one window being broken and many bricks having fallen out. On the floor above, in the front

bedroom, there was only a small opening in the wall, something like a port-hole in a ship. In this room the sister-in-law's mother was sitting. The dreamer wondered if she would find her own mother there too. When the sister-in-law arrived at the house, she ran up the front door-steps and on further until she reached the second floor. She did not see that the dreamer had gone slyly into the basement and was concealing the jewels in a box, covering it first with (so-called "invisible") pink-and-white plaid cloth and then with white ashes.³⁰ The dreamer was in fear of being discovered. When the danger was over, she started to rush up the broken door-steps after her sister-in-law, but paused half way and, instead of going further, sent a volley of harsh words up the stairway. With that she woke in a great emotional tumult, and was saying to herself two or three times in close succession: "Oh, I hope I shall never speak like that to anybody. It was dreadful."

Later the patient wrote:

"Recently two dreams have disquieted me because they were moving-pictures of petty thieving. Then, last Tuesday, while in a store, there came over me a strong impulse to take certain things (brass hinges, rivets, note-books, and candy). I did not yield to the impulse. I left the place as quickly as possible, yet the appearance of such a desire (in the open, so to speak, and not merely in dreams) gave me a distinct shock and a self-fear which has not subsided.

"What did it mean? What did that strong impulse signify? It said as plainly as words: *If I cannot steal children, I will steal something else. If I may not have what I want, I will take what I can get.*

"I am glad I understand this. I think, too, that a love of excitement is behind many an impulse to steal—particularly where the things are not used afterwards."

The other dream about stealing was as follows:

"In my native city a steep street was seen. On the right side it had very high houses; on the left, an embankment surmounted by a low stone wall. (There is, in reality, no such street there.) An observer of a 'moving-picture,' I saw myself walking up the street. One second, I was alone; the next instant two little girls and a stout, dark-complexioned woman appeared at my right. The children were dressed alike, in white blouses and dark blue skirts: the woman was entirely in black. Her face seemed familiar to me. Her age was somewhere between thirty-five and forty-five years. She had taught the children to steal. One little girl was eight, and the other eleven

³⁰ Possibly a hint at anal memories.

years old. These children were too close to me for comfort, and she kept at their right. We formed a straight line across the sidewalk; so there was but little space between myself and the gutter. They started, all three, to go up the incline with me. Suddenly the woman vanished. At the same moment I knew the children had stepped behind me and taken money from a bag which I was holding under my left arm.

"Note.—This was the small black bag which I use every day. When I have more than a dollar in that bag I carry it as just described. When there is only small change, I let my hand drop to my side.

"The children took bills, and not coin. Then they, too, were no longer visible—children and bills.

"Since I intended to go on a journey, I had an extra reason for wishing to recover my money. Therefore I turned, went down the hill to the railroad-station, sought out the station-matron, and then she accompanied me back up the street whence I had come. She had on a long white apron completely covering her dress, and she wore a white cap. She walked at my left, as we hurried along, looking on all sides for the children (idea of concealment). They were not to be seen anywhere. I was chiefly occupied in examining the windows of the houses on our right. At last, high up, on the top floor of one of the apartment-houses, the woman in black looked down on me for a fraction of a second and then peered at me from behind the 'half-blind' which covered half of the window offering this fleeting view of the enemy. With this glimpse of her the dream ended."

In setting forth the rather wide-reaching generalizations which have occupied many pages of this paper, I have been led, primarily, by the idea that not symbols alone but all emotions have two faces and consequently that one should not define a person's desires as "retrograde" or sensual, without noting that they are this eminently by contrast with others of a different sort, and in a sense that the psychoanalyst at least is bound to understand.

In fact, all that I have said applies rather to the edification of the physician than—directly—to the edification of the patient. It may be necessary, or desirable, to confine the psychoanalytic inquiry to a certain group of repressions of which—it should be said—the physician can more or less accurately prophesy the nature, and which the patient—reversing, as all patients are prone to do, the path of the repression—will sooner or later bring to light.

But it should be clearly known that the patient's mind contains also a variety of other data which he is not likely to bring to light, yet which it is vitally important for him to recognize, if this can but be brought about without detriment to his progress, as significant sources of motive. Such matters are certain inherent "moral obligations," which every one who will listen to his own conscience will find that he feels, first, as a member of the "community," in a widening sense; next as a virtual member of an ideal community, or—if one will—of the universe. I will waive the question whether the psychoanalyst ought to bring these matters definitely to the patient's notice (though I will say that I believe one reason this obligation is not felt is that the first mentioned obligations are not believed to exist as such); but it is certain that the psychoanalyst cannot be thoroughly competent for his task unless he has them in the background of his mind. And I believe that the time will come and is at hand, when it will be found that the physician can often act in both ways as helper to his patients, without either the loss of self-respect or failure to perform both tasks adequately. The universe is not, as I believe, founded in logical "reason" alone, much less in "scientific" reason as that word is usually understood. Moral intuition also plays its part, and probably discovers its right to do so because of inherent necessities and not solely because of utilitarian adjustments.

CHARLES DARWIN—THE AFFECTIVE SOURCES OF HIS INSPIRATION AND ANXIETY NEUROSIS¹

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The psychoanalytic study of these particular attributes of Charles Darwin's personality must necessarily be rather abruptly circumscribed. To do thorough justice to Darwin's personality one ought to read everything he published and all the family and personal history that can be had and present the material in an analytical biography. It is hardly necessary to eulogize Darwin's greatness in order to make the analytical study of his inferiorities and compensations acceptable to the hero-worshipping public.

Charles Darwin's contributions to the progress of civilization and welfare of humanity stand second to no man. He has done more for the liberation of human thought than the combined careers of Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Napoleon and other imitators, and his character needs no defense. It is of great value to know how he succeeded in refining the autoerotic cravings inherently active in every individual, and in sublimating the father's repressive influence, thereby making it possible for the affective cravings to create the long series of original researches into the mechanisms of nature. It is quite probable that no male can be capable of consistent original thinking who has not succeeded in freeing himself from the parent's resistant domination. As to how much Darwin's sexual life played a part in his scientific curiosity may be estimated from the fact that he laid supreme emphasis upon the mechanism of *sexual selection* as a determinant for the survival of pleasing attributes, hence variations in structure and movement. He says, in his *Descent of Man*, that the German naturalist and philosopher Haeckel, was the only scientist whose writings showed that he fully appreciated

¹ The formula upon which the analytical study of Darwin's personality and his creations is made is the origin and nature of his wishes, the nature of the environmental resistance, and the resultant behavior:

Primary Wish + Subsidiary Wishes (manifest)

Primary Wish + Subsidiary Wishes (repressed)

× Resistance (environmental) = Behavior.

the significance of sexual selection, to which now may be added the Freudian school of psychobiologists.

Another indication of Darwin's interest in the sexual functions is to be seen in the titles of his books, such as *The Descent of Man*, and *Selection in Relation to Sex*, *The Effects of Cross and Self Fertilization in the Vegetable Kingdom*, *On the Various Contrivances by which Orchids are Fertilized*, and *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*.

In this analytical study several discussions of Darwin's sexual life are, of necessity, frankly made. No one who reads Darwin's letters can help but duly appreciate the splendid manner in which he sublimated his sexual cravings, keeping himself pleasant, unirritable, appreciative and grateful, which, of course, is not characteristic of the sexually discontented.

Charles Darwin's paternal grandfather, Erasmus Darwin,² was a physician, poet and naturalist. He wrote *Zoönomia* (signs by which animals are known and may be named). His feelings in regard to nature study may be estimated from his introductory phrase, "The whole is one family of one parent." He was a very studious theorizer but not very practical in his scientific work, and Charles Darwin, when an elderly man, came to be disappointed in the excess of theory and the scantiness of facts in his book. Like most men who devote most of their love to creative thinking, he seems not to have been a very practical father, due, also, perhaps, to a "certain acerbity or severity of temper" (p. 6), because his second son, Erasmus, became a suppressed, psychopathic personality. The latter was quiet, retiring, had eccentric, self-indulgent interests, was, in some respects, brilliant, never married, and committed suicide at forty while in what seems to have been a state of "incipient insanity" (p. 8).

His third son, Robert Waring, the father of Charles Darwin, became a physician upon his father's command. Even though he detested the work his father gave him no choice (p. 12). Despite his "hate" for the work he developed a large country practice. There are indications that Robert and his father, Erasmus Darwin, did not understand each other in the matter of profession or finances, for his father "brought him to Shrewsbury before he was twenty-one years of age and left him twenty pounds, saying: 'Let me know when you want more, and I'll send it to you.' His uncle, the rector

² *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin* by Francis Darwin. The information in this article is taken from this work and the numbers following quotations, as (p. 8), refer to the pages.

of Elston, afterwards, also sent him twenty pounds, and this was the sole pecuniary aid which he ever received" (p. 8), which seems to imply that although he needed money he had to depend upon a relative. This fact may have had quite a genetic influence upon his attitude, later, toward his son Charles, whom he rebuked for carelessly spending money while at college. It is worthy of consideration that Charles Darwin, in turn, was unusually generous with his son, Francis, about some of his careless debts contracted while at college. Francis Darwin says: "My father was wonderfully liberal and generous to all his children in the matter of money, and I have special cause to remember his kindness when I think of the way he paid some Cambridge debts of mine—making it seem almost a virtue in me to have told him of them." The attitude of Charles Darwin toward the matter of his son's college debts stands out in quite striking contrast to the attitude of his own father. Charles Darwin, in money and business matters, was extremely careful and exact. "He kept accounts with great care, classifying them, and balancing at the end of the year like a merchant." "His father *must have allowed him to believe* that he would be poorer than he really was, for some of the difficulty experienced in finding a house in the country must have arisen from the *modest sum he felt prepared to give. Yet, he knew*, of course, that he would be in easy circumstances" (p. 98).³ From this statement, it seems that Charles Darwin, although he knew he had sufficient resources, was unable to use them more freely than he did because he felt constrained by his father's influence to deny himself. An indication that his father's attitude had caused him no little sorrow may be seen in the carefully considerate manner in which he made the debts of Francis seem "almost a virtue." This affective restraint, which Darwin imposed upon himself in order to keep peace with his father, which when associated later with other facts, gives us one important indication as to the mechanism of Darwin's chronic anxiety.

To return to Darwin's parents. His father was a man of unusual insight into human nature, for he practised the present psychoanalytic principle of inducing a free affective readjustment in his patients as a method of treating the distress caused by affective repression—anxiety. Charles Darwin says: "Owing to my father's power of winning confidence, many patients, especially ladies, consulted him, when suffering any misery, as a sort of Father-Confessor. He told me that they always began by complaining in a

³ Italics mine.

vague manner about their health, and, by practice, he soon guessed what was really the matter. He then suggested that they had been suffering in their minds and now they would pour out their troubles, and he heard nothing more about the body" (p. 12). Dr. Robert Darwin also found that the sexual forces played a critical part in the attainment of happiness or misery, which is obvious from the following statement: "Owing to my father's skill in winning confidence, he received many strange confessions of misery and guilt. He often remarked how many miserable wives he had known" (p. 12).

Other characteristics attributed to his father by Charles Darwin are: "The *most remarkable* power which my father possessed was that of reading character, and even the thoughts of those whom he saw even a short time. We had *many* instances of the power which seemed *almost supernatural* (p. 12).⁴ Darwin follows this comment with three illustrations. The first one was how his father never, "with but one exception," made an unworthy friend, and, in this instance, a clergyman, who was "little better than an habitual swindler," was soon discovered. The second was the loaning of twenty pounds to a complete stranger who had lost his purse and promptly proved reliable, and the third was the detection in an insane young man, who accused himself of all the crimes under heaven, that he was guilty of a heinous crime. "His sympathy gave him *unbounded power* for winning confidence;" he was "the most *acute observer* whom I ever saw"; and "The *wisest man* whom ever I saw." (Italics are inserted to emphasize the superlative use of superlatives.) In order to successfully conceal undesirable wishes and emotions from a father having such unusual qualities for detecting them it would necessarily require one to most assiduously repress them from consciousness. It is quite probable that Darwin's interest in the expression of the emotions in man and animals was aroused by his father's capacity to read secrets of behavior from the manner in which emotions are expressed.

Robert Darwin married Susan, the favorite daughter of Josiah Wedgwood of Etruria, a very close friend of his father's, and it is quite probable that her esteem for her father-in-law was greatly enhanced by her own father's admiration for his intelligence. She seems to have had, according to a miniature and an account of her by friends, "a remarkably sweet and happy face," expressive of a "gentle, sympathetic nature" (p. 9). She is said to have enjoyed a most benevolent regard from her father-in-law (Bettany), and,

⁴ Italics mine.

through this affective influence, probably became deeply fascinated by his poetical, scientific curiosity, and much interested in his theories as to the causes of variation and evolution of life. She was very fond of flowers and pets. The tameness and beauty of her pigeons were the admiration of her friends. (The origin and variations of domestic pigeons form a most important part of the "Origin of Species.") The sincerity and frankness of her attitude, no doubt, gave her son Charles a distinct impression about the things in life that fascinated her. She was very sympathetic and seems to have had a protracted, wearisome illness which caused her death when Charles was but eight years of age. Her charming interest in nature gave him, it seems, a fixed inspiration, a wish to solve the riddle that fascinated his lovely mother. It must have been her romantic fondness for flowers which inspired her son to search there for the secret of her fascination, because, when he attended Mr. Case's school at eight, he had already begun to collect "all sorts of things," shells, seals, franks, coins, minerals, and "*tried to make out the names of plants.*"⁵ (Collecting was a well-developed characteristic of several of Darwin's uncles.)

The Reverend W. A. Leighton, who was a playmate of Charles Darwin's at this school, remembered his bringing a flower to school and saying that "*his mother had taught him how by looking at the inside of the blossom the name of the plant could be discovered*" (p. 26). (Names are usually given in science, and also ordinarily, according to the genetic origin or dynamic nature of the object—to know the secret of the name is to know the secret of the child's or flower's origin.) The boy, Leighton, whose childhood curiosity and inspirations were later considerably gratified by becoming a botanist of well-known reputation, tried to discover the secret. He says: "This (secret) greatly aroused my attention and curiosity, and I inquired of him repeatedly how this could be done, but his lesson was, naturally enough, not transmissible" (p. 26).

Whatever was the exact source of the fantasies exchanged by the two boys, it was certainly a budding curiosity about genesis (sexual), because Darwin, in his autobiography, says, at 67: "One little event during this year *has fixed itself very firmly in my mind, and I hope that it has done so from my conscience having been afterwards sorely troubled by it*; it is curious as showing that apparently I was interested at this early age in the *variability of plants!* I told another little boy (I believe it was Leighton) that I could produce

⁵ Italics mine.

variously colored polyanthus and primroses by watering them with certain coloured fluids, which was, of course, a monstrous fable, and had never been tried by me.”⁶ (p. 27).

Why should Darwin, fifty-nine years later, with his fine insight into the naturalness of immorality in children, write this confession of an act of immorality committed at eight and apologize for it as a “monstrous fable” that simply would not fade with time. Most unforgettable incidents of childhood which later become painful memories are, in some manner, associated with a sexual transgression, and it is the severity of the struggle to refine the sexual interests that gives prominence to the transgressions of the past, like an old scar on a highly polished surface. The self-refinement tendency in Darwin is definitely revealed in his comment, “I hope that it has done so from my conscience having been afterwards sorely troubled.” This eight-year-old boy’s fantasy, that he could produce a variation in the colors of flowers by watering them, was told at the age when children are inclined to wonder seriously about the possible genetic qualities of their excreta, and the painful attributes of the “monstrous fable” was not in the story as retold at sixty-seven, but in the associations it had at eight. It is quite probable that Darwin’s fancy that he could cause variations in the colors of flowers by watering them was suggested by the manner in which they gradually faded and died after he had repeatedly urinated upon them (not an uncommon experiment of boys), and the fancy was told as a child’s recompensative wish. The urinating on the flowers probably had the value of being a fertilization curiosity. (See the fertilization curiosities in Darwin’s list of publications to be given later.)

Whether or not Darwin’s mother actually propounded her enchanting riddle to her boy is not quite so important as the fact that he said she did, showing how keenly his wishes relished the fancy that she had revealed to him the one secret of life that fascinated her—the secret, which, if read, would reveal the origin and creation of life and—himself. Children from seven to ten are usually passionately fond of riddles. It is the trial and error method of finding the answer to the omnipresent riddle as to their origin. Soon after this innocent exchange of confidences with her boy, the beautiful mother died—went on a long journey into the night.

At ten, this boy was still collecting minerals with much zeal, still searching for the answer to his mother’s riddle and her wish that he

⁶ Italics mine.

could know. He says: "All that I cared about was a new-named mineral" (p. 31). We must not forget *Zoönomia*.

During the next seven years, in the classical schools, he was an indifferent student, and earned the reputation of being more difficult to teach than the average boy. The cause of this is evidently in the fact that his sponsors persisted in trying to make him learn stuff for which his affective cravings had an aversion. Criticism and rebuke seemed to fail as arousing stimuli, as did also changes of schools and teachers. In his autobiography, Darwin estimates the value of his schooling in the following phrase (p. 40): "During the three years which I spent at Cambridge (studying theology) my time was wasted, as far as the academical studies were concerned, as completely as at Edinburgh (studying medicine) and at school."

The personal history of Darwin shows that after his mother's influence nothing pleased him like the study of nature and never for a day does he seem to have abandoned his quest. No doubt this adolescent speculator upon the secret of life was subtly, but decidedly, impressed by the family's romantic interest in the nature of the recognition the grandfather's theories of evolution were winning from the great scientists of England. At the time of the following critical incident his enthusiasm about the merits of his grandfather's studies was at its height. He was admiring "greatly" the theories in the book *Zoönomia* when accidentally his conviction was fixed by the enthusiastic remarks of a hero-friend. The remarks were made under those subtly impressive circumstances which make them irresistible because they suggest an attractive solution for an uncomfortable affective conflict. He and his older brother, upon his father's insistence, were attending Edinburgh University in preparation for the practice of medicine, his father's and grandfather's profession. Both boys had insurmountable resistance to medicine, but the father persisted, it seems, in sending them to this sort of school, because the classical school had been a miserable failure and he wanted a son to practise medicine with him. Charles Darwin, though inspired to learn the names and secrets of biological and geological objects, was utterly distressed by names and words in the form of languages. For him it was like marrying the wrong sister. No little anxiety was felt by Darwin's earnest father as to what his son's future as a man might be, and this pressure, no doubt, made the solution of a career most desirable for all concerned if it could only be found. His mother

had innocently, therefore the more irresistibly, named her wish for her boy's destiny, and his father's wishes, that he should study some profession, only diverted him from the quest. While in this restless affective dilemma, the solution came in a most fortunate manner for the future of civilization.

Adolescent Darwin, age seventeen, was walking with maturing Doctor Grant, several years his senior. He says, in his autobiography: "I knew him well; he was dry and formal in manner, with much enthusiasm beneath the outer crust." (This boy had achieved one of the supreme delights of a boy's life; he had overcome the reserve of his hero and was learning, through sharing confidences, some of his impressions on the secrets of life and what works of men aroused his admiration. In his autobiography, Darwin expresses disappointment, even when an old man, that this hero of his youth did not write more and develop his interests fully.) "He one day, when we were walking together, burst forth *in high admiration of Lamarck and his views on evolution. I listened in silent astonishment, and, as far as I can judge, without any effect on my mind. I had previously read the Zoönoma of my grandfather, in which similar views are maintained, but without producing any effect on me. Nevertheless, it is probable that the hearing rather early in life such views maintained and praised may have favoured my upholding them under a different form in my Origin of Species. At this time I admired greatly the Zoönoma*"—as well as Doctor Grant.⁷

This confidential revelation, by his impressive hero, of a similar interest in the secrets of the evolution of life, firmly approved the soundness of Darwin's sacred wish of childhood, to learn the secret of nature by looking "inside" the flower. Although he began his scientific career as a geologist, as he grew older he reverted to his first wish and became more and more interested in the secrets of fertilization and variation of plants and animals. Finally, he gave the world the following answers to his mother's sacred riddle:

Books⁸

On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life, at fifty.

On the Various Contrivances by which Orchids are Fertilized by Insects, at fifty-three.

⁷Italics mine.

⁸This is by no means a complete list of Darwin's publications.

The Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants.

The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication, at fifty-nine.

The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex, at sixty-two.

The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals, at sixty-three.

Insectivorous Plants, at sixty-six.

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The Sexual Colors of Certain Butterflies, at seventy-two.

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The Movement of Leaves, at seventy-two.

The Parasitic Habits of *Molothrus*, at seventy-two.

On the Modification of a Race of Syrian Street-Dogs by means of Sexual Selection, by Van Dyck, with a preliminary notice by C. Darwin.

To the Different Forms of Flowers on Plants of the Same Species he made the following significant comment: "No little discovery of mine ever gave me so much pleasure as the *making out of the meaning of heterostyled flowers*. The results of crossing such flowers in an illegitimate manner, I believe to be very important as bearing on the sterility of hybrids."⁹

It would be most undesirable to leave the impression that the affective transfer to Doctor Grant, through the support of his childhood wishes, alone made it possible for Darwin to overcome the wishes of his father, that he should become a physician or a minister, and devote his life to the particular work which gratified his mother's innocently placed wish. The friendship of Prof. Henslow, which, he says, "influenced my career more than any other" (p. 44) and, of the geologists, Sedgewick and Lyle, and others, besides the contributions to science which he read, furnished the medium through which his inspiration could work satisfactorily. The essential point is the fact that before he met Henslow, his affective trends had become quite definitely settled, and it was now only a matter of finding the proper associations and material with which to work.

⁹ Italics mine.

From nineteen to twenty-two he attended Cambridge to train himself for the ministry because, it seems, his father and sisters had decided that, since he would not study medicine, nothing else was desirable. Fortunately, they were not too resolutely persistent, and Darwin's yearnings were tenacious and vigorous enough to endure the disconcertions of classical literature until he met Professor Henslow. Professor Henslow, he says, was a man "whose knowledge was great in botany, entomology, chemistry, mineralogy, and geology" (p. 44) and who later became a minister. Perhaps this complex personality, as a life-long friend, saved Darwin from floundering under his father's resistance, after he had started on his course. Henslow's knowledge of biology gratified the wish to please mother, and his ministerial interests gratified the wish to please father. Later Henslow's inducement enabled Darwin to make a neat sublimation of the father's wishes.

At twenty-two, in Cambridge, he says (p. 47): "I read with care and profound interest Humboldt's Personal Narrative. This work, and Sir J. Herschel's Introduction to the Study of Natural Philosophy, stirred up in me a *burning zeal to add even the most humble contribution* to the noble structure of Natural Science.¹⁰ No one of a dozen other books influenced me nearly so much as these two." (His affective needs were ready for the books and these men, and he assimilated the scientific knowledge that helped to satisfy the ardent wish of his childhood with "burning zeal.")

Darwin's affective needs resisted his father's influence that he should study medicine or theology, even though he had obediently consented, upon his father's instigation, to become a clergyman, but they accepted Henslow's suggestion that he should study geology with enthusiasm. This course satisfied the childhood wish to know the names and secrets of minerals and made life sincerely worth while. Had it been necessary, for, say, psychiatric reasons, to take Darwin's life history at this time, his father would probably have conscientiously said that he was not a good student, indifferent to the serious interests of life, a sport, ratcatcher, card player, drinker, and waster of time, and more obstinate and self-willed than his brother. His brother, whom he called "poor old Philos" and "poor old Ras," had, by this time, completely submitted to the father's wish.

The origin of the subsidiary wish to travel, which also urged Darwin to make the important voyage of the *Beagle*, he attributes

¹⁰ Italics mine.

to "early in my schooldays a boy had a copy of the *Wonders of the World*, which I often read and disputed with the boys about the veracity of the statements; and I believe that this book first gave me a wish to travel in remote countries, which was ultimately fulfilled by the voyage of the *Beagle*" (p. 31). The voyage was additionally attractive because it enabled him to answer the wish of his childhood, to know the truth of the serious claims of his playmates and the author. In other words, his *Journal of the Voyage of the Beagle* improved the story of travels which he read in his childhood.

When the opportunity for the voyage of the *Beagle* came, through the kindness of Henslow, his master in science, he says his father "strongly objected, adding the words, fortunate for me, 'If you can find any man of common sense who advises you to go I will give my consent'" (p. 50). This vigorous protest, no doubt, was aggravated by Darwin's past three years of sporting indulgence at Cambridge, which he, himself, later, characterized as "time worse than wasted." His father had often rebuked him for his sporting proclivities and plainly said he was seriously afraid his son might become a regret to the family. Darwin's father had probably not forgotten the tragedy of his own brother's suicide and was at a loss to know how to influence his son. He had persisted in sending him to Edinburgh to study medicine and, when he refused to become interested, he had sent him to study theology at Cambridge, only to see him persistently waste his opportunities.

His son's method of wasting time and money, through sports, card-playing and drinking companions, has every attribute of being his manner of protesting against the impatient attitude of his father, who was an abstainer. Their affective resistances had become such a barrier that neither was able to satisfactorily influence the other. We learn that Darwin's sisters had become the medium of exchange of certain opinions between father and son from the fact that the father learned through his daughters that his son Charles was not interested in medicine. After the father had expressed his distrust of the voyage of the *Beagle*, Charles wrote a letter declining the opportunity and promptly went on a shooting trip to Maer. It was one of the interests his father objected to because he cared more for it than a profession.

The father's inability to see his son's zeal for scientific research in this vitally important request, as well as in the selection of an undesirable course of training for both of his sons, strikingly con-

trasts with the persistent manner in which Charles Darwin later attributed to his father the qualities of being "the wisest man" he ever saw and a man having "almost supernatural" powers of reading character. Additional facts, to be more fittingly presented later, shows decidedly that these conflicts greatly influenced the pathological nature of Darwin's later submission to his father and the over-compensation of gratitude which he developed. The letters relative to the *Beagle* opportunity show how extremely eager he was to go and how seriously he considered the opportunity, but also, how entirely, because of his affection for his father, he was dominated by the latter's opinion.

In a letter to Henslow he wrote: "My father, although he does not decidedly refuse me, gives such strong advice against going, that I should not be comfortable if I did not follow it" (p. 169).

"My father's objections are these: the unfitting me to settle down as a clergyman, my little habit of seafaring, *the shortness of the time*, and the chance of my not suiting Captain Fitz-Roy . . . if it had not been for my father I would have taken all risks . . . there certainly could not have been a better opportunity."

In the postscript occurs a sentence that clearly reveals Darwin's utter affective dependence upon his father's approbation and pleasure: "Even if I was to go, my father, disliking, would take away all my energy" (p. 170).

After Darwin had resigned himself to the loss of this wonderful opportunity he promptly went to the home of the Wedgwicks—his future father-in-law's. Apparently, there, they all talked it over, for the next day he wrote a letter to his father. It begins rather timidly:

"My dear Father—I am afraid I am going to make you again very uncomfortable. But, upon consideration, I think you will excuse me once again, stating my opinions on the offer of the voyage. My excuse and reason is the different way all the Wedgwicks view the subject from what you and my sisters do.

"I have given Uncle Jos what I fervently trust is an accurate and full list of your objections, and he is kind enough to give his opinions on all . . . may I beg of you one favour, it will be doing me the greatest kindness, if you will send me a decided answer, yes or no? If the latter, I should be most ungrateful if I did not implicitly yield to your better judgment, and to the kindest indulgence

you have shown me all through my life; and you may rely upon it I will never mention the subject again" (p. 171).

One can hardly help but be deeply impressed by this almost tragic appeal that this maturing male (twenty-two) makes for parental consent to his freedom of thought and behavior. Twice in the same letter he refers to the delicate question of idleness: "the time" (on the voyage) "I do not think, anyhow, would be more thrown away than if I stayed at home" and "I must again state I cannot think it would unfit me hereafter for a steady life." (Such earnest pleas as this, although he was a "ratcatcher," show how seriously he was interested in life, if only the controlling powers would let him be free.)

His father's list of objections reveal his attitude about his inability to direct his son's career.

- "(1) Disreputable to my character as a clergyman hereafter.
- "(2) A wild scheme.
- "(3) That they must have offered to many others before me the place of Naturalist.
- "(4) And from its not being accepted there must be some serious objection to the vessel or expedition.
- "(5) That I should never settle down to a steady life hereafter.
- "(6) That my accommodations should be most uncomfortable.
- "(7) That you (Dr. Darwin) should consider it as again changing my profession.
- "(8) That it would be a useless undertaking (p. 172)."

The objections 1, 2, 7, and 8, the most important, indicate that the father's resistances to naturalists' wasting time were probably the result of his economic stresses as a student and practitioner due to his own father being a rather indifferent provider, probably because of the enormous amount of time he sacrificed in unremunerative theorizing about nature. Charles Darwin says his "father's mind was not scientific, and he did not try to generalize his knowledge under general laws, yet he formed a theory for almost everything which occurred," which indicates that some resistance prevented him from grouping his theories like his father did.

To return to the objections—Josiah Wedgwood replied in a letter to Darwin's father, in which he took up each point separately and supported the wishes of his future son-in-law. The first objection is interesting in that it reveals what enlightened Englishmen thought of naturalists in 1831. "(1) I should not think that it would be in

any degree disreputable to his character as a clergyman. I should on the contrary think the offer honorable to him; and the pursuit of Natural History, though certainly not professional, is very suitable to a clergyman."

Darwin's father, fortunately, was not so obstinately cruel and self-centered as to resist this final plea from his son and relatives. He consented in "the kindest manner," and the enthusiasm with which Darwin reacted is revealed in several letters to his friends, in which such phrases as the following are to be found: (In regard to his liking his captain) "I am sure it will be my fault if we do not suit. What changes I have had. Till one" (o'clock probably) "today I was building castles in the air about hunting foxes in Shropshire, now llamas in South America. There is indeed a tide in the affairs of men"; (in regard to the sailing) "What a glorious day the fourth of November will be to me! *My second life will then commence, and it shall be as a birthday for the rest of my life*"¹¹ (p. 187); (to Henslow, whose "protege" he liked to consider himself to be) "*Gloria in excelsis* is the most moderate beginning (of the letter) I can think of;" (to his friend Fox he wrote) "Every now and then I have moments of glorious enthusiasm, when I think of the date and cocoa-tree, the palms and ferns so lofty and beautiful, everything new, everything sublime." When repressive influences are removed the affective response immediately rises with enthusiasm and exuberance. Smoky, noisy London became, for the first time in his life, "very pleasant, hurry, bustle and noise are all in unison with my thoughts;" and the crowded little ship became "the most perfect vessel that ever came out of the dockyard."

Darwin had a fine capacity for visualizing which is to be seen all through his letters, and there can be little doubt but that the "second birth" he referred to meant that he proposed to remain a naturalist, marry Emma Wedgwood and devote his "second life" to one long "birthday for the rest of my life."

The vigor of Darwin's interest in science, as a young man, certainly varied as his father's wishes forced him from the studies that gratified his affective attachment to his mother, and it was fortunate that his uncle was quite well aware of the family situation.

Darwin writes in his autobiography: "The voyage of the *Beagle* has been by far the most important event in my life and has determined my whole career; yet, it depended on so small a circumstance as my uncle (future father-in-law) offering to drive me thirty miles

¹¹ Italics mine.

to Shrewsbury, which few uncles would have done, and on such a trifling as the shape of my nose" (p. 51). The captain of the *Beagle* disliked the shape of Darwin's nose, believing that it indicated weakness of purpose and energy. He, however, was persuaded to accept the offer for service because of his zeal. This his father had failed to appreciate. (This complicated, decisive incident is comparable to an accidental association of mechanical or chemical devices that sometimes saves a man from a life of fruitless, painful striving after an inaccessible object by giving him a practical medium through which the wish may, at least, struggle freely for gratification.)

Darwin, as a psychological problem, would be only half considered, if we did not include an analysis of his chronic anxiety, which lasted over forty years, and attempt to estimate the nature of his affective repressions and his manner of dealing with them, because, in many essential respects, Darwin's difficulties were of the type that often become extremely destructive to the personality. It is quite probable that, had his father suppressed the voyage of the *Beagle*, it would have ruined his son, because the submission would have prevented the frank sublimation of his mother-attachment. This mechanism, perhaps in more active form, is frequently the most prominent factor in many dementia praecox cases.

The first indications that Darwin had a psychoneurotic tendency came out, as it would be expected, upon the first strenuous demands for adaptation when accompanied by home- or love-sickness, which bothered him greatly. Such symptoms as the following, occurring in a student, would lead one strongly to suspect an autoerotic difficulty that had not been completely mastered. Besides cardiac palpitation and anxiety he had other neurotic symptoms.

In a letter written September 6, 1831 (p. 180), to his sister, Susan, is the first significant reference to his personal difficulties. The unconscious manner in which the thoughts are associated together is quite important. He begins with a series of requests for wearing apparel, and, when he reaches the request for a little book, "If I have got it in my bedroom—'Taxidermy'?" He adds: "Ask my father if he thinks there would be any objection to my taking arsenic for a little time, as my hands are not quite well, and I have *always* observed that if I once get them well, and change my manner of living about the same time, they will generally remain well. What is the dose? Tell Edward my gun is dirty. What is Erasmus' direction?"¹²

¹² Italics mine.

The arsenic tonic for the defective hands, of which he is unduly conscious while trying to make demonstration of his best qualities in order to be accepted for the voyage, is interestingly associated with the queer observation, which is given so much importance by the "always," that if he once got them well, that is, under control, and changed his *manner of living about the same time*, they generally remained well. This sort of phrase is enigmatical in almost any sense unless it reveals the manner in which he had mastered the natural onanistic curiosities of youth. The associations of taxidermy—arsenic—hands (tonic), show how frankly Darwin permitted his thoughts to associate, hence, tonic, defective hands, defective gun and Erasmus should be considered to have been written in the same trend of thought. Erasmus was biologically not a well-developed heterosexual type, was not creative, retired while a young man and never married.

It is very interesting, in this connection, that, three days later, Darwin again wrote to the same sister (p. 182): "Captain Fitz-Roy first wished a naturalist, and then he seems to have taken a sudden horror of the chances of having somebody he should not like on board the vessel." In the previously quoted letter in the paragraph following the arsenic requests, he says "from Captain Fitz-Roy wishing me so much to go, and, from his kindness, I feel a predestination I shall start." (Fitz-Roy seems to have been about twenty-three at this time and the two were to share quarters together. Later, while at sea, Fitz-Roy developed a negativistic attitude toward Darwin which almost disrupted the voyage. At sixty-seven Darwin said he "was a man very difficult to live with on the intimate terms which followed from our messing by ourselves in the same cabin" (p. 51). This indicates that Fitz-Roy was inclined to become irritable under the strain of sexual suppression). From his autobiographic comments, Darwin apparently mistook Fitz-Roy's reference to his sensuous nose as his true reason for not taking him on the journey. It is quite probable that the astute Doctor Darwin was well aware of his son's personal difficulties, if we consider the manner in which he read the sexual difficulties of his patients, which Darwin characterized as "supernatural." This may have been the true basis for the fear that it might ruin him for the ministry. Homosexuality is a serious problem among seamen. In the same letter, Darwin shows that he met the emergency and mastered himself completely for he says, following his comments on his successful bargain for new pistols and a gun, and Fitz-Roy's fine guns,

that he would not need to take arsenic. The final arrangements had then been made and the slightly regressive tendency was relieved. According to some psychiatric notions, the neurotic and cardiac symptoms, plus a suicidal uncle, would have branded Darwin as a constitutional inferior failing to accommodate under stress.

It was not until five weeks after his letter, in which he mentioned Fitz-Roy's uneasiness, that he bared the yearnings of his soul to this stranger, instinctively assuring him that all was well by the splendid sublimation that, on the day of sailing "my second life will then commence, and it shall be as a birthday for the rest of my life." The nature of the fifty-two years of married life that followed the voyage show clearly how well Darwin meant exactly what he said.

No doubt Fitz-Roy and Darwin had no occasion to lose their esteem for one another. The voyage lasted about five instead of three years during which time Darwin suffered severely from seasickness, nausea, vomiting and dizziness, but the enormous amount of work he did, and the accuracy of his journal, which has been incorporated in the Harvard Classics, show how splendidly he sublimated his affective cravings.

While on the voyage, he had a serious illness which his father was unable to diagnose from a description of the symptoms, but it can hardly be assumed to have left a debilitating effect, because, after the voyage, while working at his specimens, he wrote of his good health and spirits.

Doctor W. W. Johnson,¹³ in his article on *The Ill Health of Charles Darwin: Its Nature and Relation to His Work*, in which he covers the symptoms and the physical stresses of the voyage, and his intense method of work, concludes that the illness was "chronic neurasthenia."

Dr. G. M. Gould in his *Biographic Clinics* reviews the case of Charles Darwin, and, after discussing Doctor Johnson's diagnosis, concludes that the ill health was due to "eye-strain." Both men seem to have either overlooked or given little importance to the anxiety about his hands that Darwin complained of before the voyage or to the affective problems involved.

The indications, many of which have been collected in the following discussion, are that, if we will consider the nature of Darwin's work, what it meant to him, what he anticipated it would mean to civilization and the excited criticisms it would arouse, the

¹³ *American Anthropologist*, Vol. III, 1901.

attitude of his father, and his manner of working, it is quite probable that he suffered from an anxiety neurosis due to consistent affective repression. The nature of the affective repression will be discussed after other important personal traits of Darwin and the symptoms of his illness have been fully covered.

About two years after his return from the voyage of the *Beagle*, he began to be troubled by becoming occasionally "unwell." I could find no definite account of an organic disease until he was an old man, and none of his physicians, including his father, seemed to consider an organic lesion as the cause of his illness. Many hints as to the symptoms and nature of his anxiety neurosis may be found scattered throughout the biography published by his son, Francis, and in his letters and autobiography. Some of the more definite remarks are here collected together because they indicate the nature of the anxiety neurosis, and, from an analysis of his compensations and methods of obtaining relief from anxiety, we are enabled to acquire an insight into the nature of his affective struggle and the determinants of his final course of living.

In the critical years between his return from the voyage of the *Beagle* (twenty-seven) and his marriage (thirty) to settling at Down (thirty-three), Darwin passed through his final affective reformation. He was inclined to reflect deeply on the subject of religion, read books on metaphysics which indicates that he still conscientiously considered the ministry and "the subject was much before his mind" (p. 274) but he says:

"Disbelief crept over me at a very slow rate, but was at last complete. The rate was so slow that I felt no distress." During these years the first important experience of becoming "unwell" is recorded and the later course of his anxiety indicates that it was a reaction to his efforts to adjust himself for his career, his father, and his mating. (It is important to recognize the fact that individuals having too strong an affective attachment to one of their parents, often experience an unfathomable anxiety when they attempt to mate, because in the mating the individual tends to repress the affective interests that do not idealize the love-object, and this repressed affect produces anxiety through its struggles to break through the resistance so as to find its own love-object.)

He married at thirty and lived in London, but at thirty-three he retired to the restful seclusion of Down. As he grew older, he isolated himself more and more from social intercourse. The summer before his retreat to Down he went alone on one more geologizing tour

to North Wales and this was the last time he tried to climb a mountain. What final resolutions and emotional changes Darwin experienced on this trip are not recorded by him, but shortly after this he retired to Down, where he became a chronic invalid and his wife-mother became his devoted nurse. Francis Darwin fittingly says: "No one, indeed, except my mother, knows the full amount of suffering he endured, or the full amount of his wonderful patience. For all the latter years of his life she never left him for a night; and her days were so planned that all his resting hours might be shared with her. She shielded him from every avoidable annoyance, and omitted nothing that might save him trouble, or prevent him becoming overtired, or that might alleviate the many discomforts of his ill health." "For nearly forty years" (almost throughout his marriage) "he never knew of one day of health like the ordinary man and thus his life was one long struggle against the weariness and strain of sickness. And this cannot be told without speaking of *one condition which enabled him to bear the strain and fight out the struggle to the end.*"¹⁴

Another most important fact must be added because it enabled him to play in nature study according to his wishes. His economic independence was established through his father's good will. It must be recognized that his mothering-wife and his economic independence, as a secure source of protection for his family and himself, made it possible for him to endure his chronic affective conflict because he could thereby avoid the aggravations that usually arise when an individual, having serious affective repressions, is required to adapt himself to the demands of a self-indulgent mate or the stresses of competitive business. These two facts probably saved Darwin from utter ruin long before the *Origin of Species* could have been published.

During the critical period of affective renunciation of orthodox mysticism for the more serious and more sacred truths of Nature, from twenty-seven to thirty, Darwin's interest changed in other important respects. He discovered, "unconsciously and insensibly, that the pleasure of observing and reasoning was a *much higher* one than that of skill and sport"¹⁴ (p. 53). He also became definitely convinced of his own place in nature and the significance of his theory of evolution. He says (pp. 75, 76): "As soon as I had become, in 1837 or 1838 (age twenty-eight or twenty-nine) convinced

¹⁴ Italics mine.

that species were mutable productions, I could not avoid the belief that man must come under the same law. Accordingly I collected all notes on the subject for my own satisfaction, and for a long time without any intention of publishing." His cautiousness shows how clearly he foresaw the criticisms that would be hurled at him because of the pain his theories would arouse in others. His ability to recognize this, of course, could only have come from the pain he himself experienced when he quietly renounced his orthodox wishes as to the future of man. His next sentence shows how clearly he apprehended the nature of the illegitimate claims orthodox minds are tempted to make in the name of religious righteousness. He says: "Although in the Origin of Species the derivation of any particular species is never discussed yet I thought it best, in order that no honorable man should accuse me of concealing my views, to add that by the work 'light would be thrown on the origin of man and his history'" (p. 76).

His first child was born when he was thirty, and he says: "I at once commenced to make notes on the first dawn of the various expressions which he exhibited, for I felt convinced, even at this early period, that the most complex and fine shades of expression must all have had a gradual and natural origin." (In this respect Freud's contribution, that the sexual functions evolve gradually as a variation from nutritional functions, is neither a new nor a radical departure.)

It is worthy of consideration that Darwin's father, although he hated medicine, submitted, and, from having "no choice," followed his own father's profession. He was unable to accept the implications as to the origin of man that were taught by his father's theories in *Zoönomia*, that all forms of life were "one family of one parent." Besides this resistance, he strongly inclined that his son Charles, after he had refused to become a physician, should accept, *en masse*, the dogmas of the Church of England and become a country clergyman. (This seems to have been an unconscious expression of opposition to *Zoönomia*.) These factors indicate that the father's resistance to his son's yearnings to work on the same problems that had interested his grandfather had a far deeper emotional determination than probably any of the family allowed themselves to consider. That Charles Darwin's consecration of himself to science was a most sacred resolution is firmly supported by the zeal, patience, and care with which he worked, as well as such statements as this, in his autobiography; "I remember when in Good

Success Bay, in Tierra del Fuego, thinking (and, I believe, that I wrote home to that effect) that I could not employ my life better than in adding a little to Natural Science. This I have done to the best of my ability and critics may say what they like, but they cannot destroy this conviction" (p. 73). The delicate manner in which father and son had to adjust their wishes is indicated by the statement regarding the intention that he should become a clergyman: "Nor was this intention and my father's wish ever formally given up, but died a natural death, when, on leaving Cambridge, I joined the *Beagle* as naturalist."

It is permissible to infer, therefore, that Darwin's *consecration* of himself as a naturalist for the welfare of humanity, besides gratifying and beautifully sublimating his mother-attachment, also gratified his father's desire that he should religiously consecrate himself to the welfare of humanity, which is remarkably like the mechanism of the sacrifice of the devoted Son, Christ, if we consider certain other facts.

At thirty-three, incidentally the year of the Crucifixion, he retired from London to seclude himself for the remainder of his life in the isolated, rural home of Down. That he literally wrote his studies of nature with consecrated devotion is obvious from his life of self-denial, the careful exactness with which he maintained his working schedule, Sundays, as well as week-days, the enormous output of material, some seven thousand (7,000) pages of scientific research, the "sacredness" with which he regarded the objects of his study, his humility, and the anxiety he endured lest he should make a mistake or offend some one.

Probably the same biological cravings that dominate us all and have insisted upon cherishing the fantasies about the renunciation of envy by Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, the Crucifixion, and Burial of all selfish, worldly (sporting) interests, and the conversion and ascension in life through seeking truth and generously tolerating censure, urged Darwin irresistibly onward. For the sake of Man, he endured the taunts and ridicule and curses of the orthodox thinkers of his time as Christ is said to have endured the persecutions of the orthodox Jew nineteen hundred years ago.

It is a very serious undertaking for a man to consecrate himself too severely to his inspirations. Comparatively rugged vulgarity and mischievousness are emotional exercises that have an important balancing influence and prevent too consistent repressions of affective interests of an important type as well as distressing

atrophy in others. The personality tends to become psychopathic, not unlike the seclusive, shut-in, fanciful hero Christ and many of our paranoid psychopaths, who heedlessly accept their inspirations without controlling them. Observations of Darwin's behavior from thirty-three until after seventy show the nature of his anxiety. Until his marriage, Darwin was very vigorous, fond of sports, and endured physical hardships on his explorations with little distress.

At forty, he wrote to Doctor Hooker, "'Everyone tells me that I look quite blooming and beautiful; and most think I am shamming, but you have never been one of those.' And it must be remembered that at this time he was miserably ill, far worse than in later years" (p. 90). We are told that "His expression showed no signs of the continual discomfort he suffered," even though, "when he was excited with pleasant talk his whole manner was wonderfully bright and animated and his face shared to the full in the general animation."

"Like most delicate people, he suffered from heat as well as from chilliness; it was as if he could not hit the balance between too hot and too cold; often a *mental cause* would make him too hot, so that he would take off his coat if anything went wrong in the course of his work."¹⁵ (This observation gives at least some insight into the delicate affective balance on which Darwin's self-control swung and how quickly he overcompensated for the fear of making a mistake or doing something he might regret. He was pathologically conscientious, exceeding by far the limitations of common sense. Another example of his hyper-conscientiousness is to be seen in his letter writing. "He received many letters from foolish, unscrupulous people and all of these received replies. He used to say that if he did not answer them he had it on his conscience afterwards. He had a printed form to be used in replying to troublesome correspondents, but he hardly ever used it" (p. 97).

Darwin's kindness and appreciation of the interests of others was so *remarkably* developed that it must be considered to be more than a grateful compensation for his burdensomeness to others for we find it to have been a consistent reaction, even with unknown, "unscrupulous correspondents," and his publisher, who had never met him, said: "Everything I did (for Darwin) was right, and everything was properly thanked for." We also find that in conversation he was peculiarly anxious not to become burdensome by repeating a story twice or by talking when others showed impulses to do so.

¹⁵ Italics mine.

The spontaneous development of such traits of hyperappreciativeness may have, as a compensatory growth, a logical inciting cause in the fear of being offensive, ungrateful, and unappreciative. The cause of this fear, however, since the soothing nature of his own family life was almost perfect, must be looked for in a repressed emotional impulse that he had to be incessantly on guard against and which, perhaps, contributed to wearying him into invalidism.

A further indication of his emotional difficulties is to be seen in his habits. "After dinner he never stayed in the room, and used to apologize by saying he was an old woman who must be allowed to leave with the ladies. This was one of the many signs and results of his constant weakness and ill health. Half an hour, more or less, of conversation would make the loss perhaps of half the next day's work. He became much tired in the evenings, especially of late years, when he left the drawing-room about ten, going to bed at half-past ten. His nights were generally bad, and he often lay awake or sat up in bed for hours, suffering much discomfort. He was troubled at night by the activity of his thoughts, and would become exhausted by his mind working at some problem which he would willingly have dismissed. At night, too, *anything which had vexed or troubled him in the day would haunt him, and I think it was then that he suffered if he had not answered some troublesome person's letter*" (p. 101).¹⁶

This duly confirms the impression that Darwin's careful gratefulness and conscientiousness was also a necessary compensation to protect himself from anxiety, the horrors of sleepless nights, and uncontrollable thoughts. He dared not become contentious or critical, because, if he did, even in little conversations, assume the postural attitude necessary for the successful criticism of another, the repressed affect literally overwhelmed his self-control and could not be checked even in the late hours of night. (Darwin often admired Huxley's wit and capacity to make retorts in discussions. He himself lost this capacity which, it seems, naturally occurs when one's attention is incessantly preoccupied with the details of original research.) This unfortunate man must have suffered excruciating distress in his later years as his resistance weakened, but, sitting up in bed, a defense against anxiety and fear, with his wife, who dared not leave him alone at night, they shared the distress together.

That this disturbance of function had an affective basis and not

¹⁶ Italics mine.

an organic one is indicated, not only by the fine old age he reached, but by the fact that most people regarded him to be in good health and shamming, and no organic lesions were found by his physicians until his last years.

"Any public appearance, even in the most modest kind, was an effort for him," even the marriage of his eldest daughter caused undue fatigue and he was unable to attend the funeral of his father. He rarely travelled, and, even if he were leaving home for a week, the packing had to be begun early on the previous day, and the chief part of it *he would do himself*. "The discomfort of a journey to him was, at least latterly, *chiefly in the anticipation*, and in the miserable sinking feeling from which he suffered *immediately before the start*; even a fairly long journey, such as that to Coniston, tired him wonderfully little, considering how much of an invalid he was" (p. 107).¹⁷

This sort of fatigue and weakness, due to *anticipation*, reminds one of the fatigue that is so disastrous to athletes when they become overly anxious before a race or game. The extent to which his anxiety might affect him when in society may be gathered from his comment in his autobiography: "My health almost always suffered from the excitement, violent shivering and vomiting attacks being thus brought on. I have therefore been compelled for many years to give up all dinner-parties; and this has been somewhat of a deprivation to me as such parties always put me into high spirits. From the same cause I have been able to invite here very few scientific acquaintances." So methodically did he have to live that his schedule could not be comfortably varied from week-day to Sunday.

It is quite evident that Darwin's constant problem was to protect himself from anticipations and conflicts because his autonomic-affective reactions caused severe anxiety and insomnia. It is to be regretted because of its great importance to psychology, that the nature of his obsessive thoughts and dreams under such conditions were not recorded.

A contributory cause of Darwin's tendency to anxiety and excitement must be recognized in the important fact that he was a sincere man and his discoveries of the laws of nature, destined to subtly produce a serious change in religious practices, was severely criticized by the rampant orthodox with probably as much vindictive unreasonableness as psychoanalysis is enduring today.

The isolation of himself from the public greatly protected him,

¹⁷ Italics mine.

but this would hardly be sufficient to protect him from the fear of making a mistake, or of wasting time, or of offending his father.

The most disastrous effects of chronic anxiety are of course digestive and nutritional, and Darwin's digestive functions were seriously affected. His long, thin legs showed the meagerness of his powers to assimilate nourishment. It seems that the most satisfactory treatment he found was "hydropathic," and his biography indicates that he must have tried many forms of treatment.

Darwin's interests in life were most decidedly eccentric if compared to the interests of the average healthy scientific researcher. He exercised little interest in business, disliked the theater, and read little current literature besides his newspaper unless it was associated with scientific work. He was very fond of novels, but his serious interests were devoted entirely to certain genetic problems in biology and geology. He says: "My *chief enjoyment and sole employment throughout life* has been scientific work; and the excitement from such work makes me for the time forget or drives away my daily discomfort" (p. 65).¹⁸

His manner of working in regard to saving time also shows how intensely he had compensated for the charge of being a waster of time in his youth. Francis Darwin says, as to his manner of working, "one characteristic of it was his respect for time; he never forgot how precious it was. This was shown, for instance, in the way in which he tried to curtail his holidays; also, and more clearly, with respect to shorter periods. He would often say that saving the minutes was the way to get work done; he showed his love of saving the minutes in the difference he felt between a quarter of an hour and ten minutes' work; *he never wasted a few spare minutes from thinking that it was not worth while to set to work.* I was often struck by his way of working up to the very limit of his strength so that he suddenly stopped in dictating with the words, 'I believe I mustn't do any more.' The same eager desire not to lose time was seen in his quick movements when at work" (p. 121).¹⁸

"He saved a great deal of time through not having to do anything twice. Although he would patiently go on repeating experiments where there was any good to be gained, he could not endure having to repeat an experiment which ought, if complete care had been taken, to have succeeded the first time—and this gave him a continual anxiety that the experiment should not be wasted; he felt the experiment to be *sacred*, however slight a one it was" (p. 122).

¹⁸ Italics mine.

"In the literary part of his work he had the same horror of losing time, and the same zeal in what he was doing at the moment, and this made him careful not to be obliged, unnecessarily, to read anything a second time" (p. 122).

In regard to saving funds, he is said also to have used the backs of his note-sheets in order not to waste paper, and, because of this, many historically interesting sheets were destroyed.

The above-noted characteristics about saving time, energy, opportunity and material were decidedly more developed than is characteristic for the average biological researcher. Why? What strange influence could have determined this trait of character?

As a schoolboy, preceding, during and after adolescence, his father, besides others, regarded him to be more stupid and lazier than the average boy and his father was honestly afraid he would become a source of regret to his family. When he came to his father for consent and encouragement to make the cherished voyage of the *Beagle*, he was derided for utterly lacking common sense; and, when he returned home, the "sensitive" father did not frankly acknowledge his interest as a naturalist or his intellectual improvement, and admit that he had been mistaken in his judgment, but, compromisingly, turned to one of his daughters and remarked: "Why! the shape of his head is quite altered!" (p. 53). This was a phrenological observation which approved of the signs of intellectual improvement in his son but did not offer a frank retraction of his former impression and create an opportunity for honest emotional readjustment. Darwin precedes this comment in his autobiography with the significant statement, in the same paragraph, "I discovered, though unconsciously and insensibly, that the pleasure of observing and reasoning was a much higher one than that of skill and sport. That my mind became developed through my pursuits during the voyage is rendered probable by a remark (quoted above) made by my father, who was the most acute observer whom ever I saw, of a skeptical disposition, and far from being a believer in phrenology."

This revelation, an additional reason for Darwin's change of interest from sports to intellectual pursuits, becomes duly significant when we associate with it the fact that his father when he heard from his daughters that Charles did not like the thought of becoming a physician, proposed that he should become a clergyman. "He was very properly vehement against my turning into an idle sporting man which he considered my probable destination." His father

regarded a voyage with the *Beagle* as a "wild scheme" and an idle, sporting adventure. The romantic circumstances in which Darwin's uncle testified for Darwin's sincerity of purpose, no doubt, put it up to his honor not to betray his uncle's confidence and, moreover, to win his beloved father's approbation, lest he should later regret having given his consent; hence the gradual change of interest from worldly sports to higher interests of reasoning as a compensatory wish-fulfillment.

The enormous collection of observations that Darwin made on this voyage verified his sincerity and diligence, but it did not win frank approbation, as the father's behavior showed in the first critical moment of meeting the returning prodigal, but self-respecting, son.

His father, though deeply sympathetic, was too sensitive to make the complete admission that the voyage had proven to be a common-sense proposition, and that he had been mistaken in his judgment. Darwin's regard for his father prevented him from showing any disappointment at the evasive greeting upon his return home after five years of adventure in the obscure quarters of the earth, but, in his later years, his "peculiar" use of admiring superlatives in regard to his father's wisdom and sympathy indicate that it was probably at that time that all feelings of disappointment in his father's attitude were resolutely repressed, and the father was accepted as utterly unable to do a wrong. The disappointment in his father's judgment was kept repressed by overevaluating his wisdom. Francis Darwin makes the significant comment: "Charles Darwin's recollection of everything that was connected with his father was peculiarly distinct and he spoke of him frequently; generally prefacing an anecdote with some phrase as "*My father, who was the wisest man I ever knew*'" (p. 10).¹⁹ "His reverence for him was boundless and most touching. He would have wished to judge *everything else* in the world dispassionately, but anything his father had said was received with *implicit faith* (p. 10). In contrast to this significant, complete acceptance of his father's word (whereby, of course, all possibility of conflict of opinion or expression of doubt and displeasure was removed) we find that Darwin said to his daughter, as she writes it, that "He hoped none of his sons would ever believe anything because he said it, unless they were themselves convinced of its truth—a feeling in striking contrast with his own manner of faith" (p. 10) and a direct admission that his

¹⁹ Italics mine.

attitude toward his father was not a healthy one, but the best adjustment that he could make under the circumstances of (1) his affective attachment to his father, whereby he was the victim of his transference, and his love for his mother and her interest, (2) his economic dependence, and (3) the necessity of avoiding conflicts in order that he would not be distracted from his researches.

The carefulness with which Darwin adjusted is to be seen in his "peculiarly distinct" recollection of "everything that was connected with his father" and his secret difficulties, which passed unobserved by most people, may be estimated by the following impressions he had of his father. He was "very sensitive, so that many small events annoyed and pained him much. He was easily made angry, but his kindness was unbounded" (p. 18). (If not made angry, is to be presumed.) Darwin's father seemed to have an unforgettable memory for painful events, because, when he became older and unable to practise he refused to go driving for the reason that every road was associated with painful memories. It may be repeated here that Darwin also characterized his father as: "His chief mental characteristics were his powers of observation and his sympathy, neither of which I have ever seen exceeded or even equalled" (p. 11) and "the most remarkable power which my father possessed was that of reading characters and even the thoughts of those whom he saw even for a short time; some instances of his power almost seemed supernatural" (p. 12). This gives us an idea of the difficulties Darwin must have had in maintaining a submissive posture or attitude that kept his father comfortable, whereby he renounced all independence of thought in relation to his father, submissively accepting his every opinion or statement without reserve and not to be questioned.

This probably explains the cause of "a fatality" of reasoning which Darwin had to struggle with. When anyone makes a new deduction or an original statement or theory, *if it is correct*, it, more or less, reflects an atmosphere of superiority of thought upon himself, and, logically, an implication of inferiority of thought upon other people. This is probably why lawyers, ministers, scientists, artists, actors, physicians, mechanics, psychoanalysts, ball-players, debutantes, cooks, i. e., wherever individuals compete for recognition by displaying the same powers or interests, they have difficulty in recognizing the superiority of the other individual's qualifications. The recognition usually comes from those who are not directly competing. Darwin's theories were more generally ac-

cepted by the younger naturalists who were competing with the established naturalists, and the older men, who could not reconstruct their work, refused to accept the theory, preferring their "standing" rather than the actual truth. The feud between Freud, Jung and Adler has a similar ingredient as also the fued between psychoanalysts and the old school of psychologists and psychiatrists.

With this mechanism in mind a determinant is to be seen for the variation in asserting potency displayed by Erasmus Darwin, grandfather, poet-naturalist and physician, and Robert Darwin, physician, with theorizing capacities highly developed but not finished, and Charles Darwin, son, who refused to be a physician but resumed his grandfather's work on origin of species and rewrote the theory in an improved, but decidedly individualistic form.

Darwin, by his refusal to become a clergyman, had formally given his father to understand that he could not accept the Church of England's and his father's impressions as to man's place in nature and the expression of his views had to be most considerately made so as not to assert himself heedlessly upon his father's wisdom. Like all such adjustments between superior officers and subordinates, the subordinate usually suffers from a retarding tendency to misexpress himself whereby he leaves an opening for the superior to display the fact that his position is still one of dominant potency. Darwin complains (p. 80): "I have as much difficulty as ever in expressing myself clearly and concisely; and this difficulty has caused me a great loss of time; . . . There seems to be a sort of fatality in my mind leading me to put at first my statement in a wrong or awkward form." The wrong form invites a self-assertion from another, as does also the awkward form offer a chance for more graceful display of self by another.

There is considerable evidence to show that this person who was always more or less in mind was none other than his father. Darwin was completely independent of all other people. This "fatal" tendency might have deprived humanity of the theory of evolution, because, although Darwin had quite clearly formulated it at thirty, he did not present it until fifty-six. His father died when Darwin was thirty-nine, but the death of the repressive influence does not relieve the repressed affect so long as the memory is revered and cherished. It was only upon the "strong advice of Lyell and Hooker" (p. 70) that Darwin accumulated enough initiative to prepare a volume on the transmutation of species. The

moral support of Henslow, whose protege Darwin liked to consider himself, and Lyell and Hooker, fortunately counteracted the affective resistance to free self-expression as a naturalist, which is clearly traceable to the sincere father's painful manner of yielding to the voyage of the *Beagle*.

Darwin compensated for the persistent paining of his father by elevating him to the revered, immortal height of godliness as the wisest, most sympathetic, most observing of all men. Such affective attitudes toward the father, during a psychosis, is always indicative of renunciation of all affective competitiveness with the father in order to keep peace while secretly love is claiming for itself the mother's supreme interest.

I have seen this frequently, distinctly illustrated in young men. In a typical instance, the only son of a devoted, beautiful mother was in constant anxiety lest he should suddenly die from cardiac failure or strangulation, who, in a confidential moment, with unmistakable pleasure, said that his mother had often told him that she loved him more than she did his father. He was distressed by incestuous dreams and the fact that he and his father were always hostile and unable to understand one another. He could not admit that they hated one another, and though he wished to love his father he could not give up stealing his mother's affections for himself. Such secret intrigue was punished by the fear that he must (ought to) die and renounce his enmity. The crucifixion or dying of patients, who feel that they are Christs, is always attended by severe anxiety. This mechanism has been observed in many of our cases.

It is evident that the affective relationship between father and son had a most significant, direct influence on the formulation of the theory of evolution, which will be still further shown later.

As to the repressed affect that distressed Darwin and added considerably to his invalidism, we are given an indication of its nature by his methods of obtaining relaxation; that is, relief from its pressure.

He says: "Novels, which are works of the imagination, though not of a very high order, have been for years a wonderful delight and pleasure to me, and I often bless all novelists. A surprising number have been read aloud to me, and I like all, if moderately good, and if they do not end unhappily—against which a law ought to be passed. A novel, according to my taste, does not come into the first class unless it contains *some person whom one can thor-*

oughly love, and if a pretty woman, all the better.”²⁰ In this tendency to become unduly distressed by a novel in which hate and misfortune triumph over love, and, on the other hand, of almost requiring a diet of novels in which some character won the reader’s love, is also a strong indication that Darwin suffered from repressions of affect, which, if allowed free play, might have pained him in his devotion for his dominating father. This would have shattered his own peace infinitely worse than slighting the letter of an unscrupulous correspondent. Rather than permit the recalcitrant competitive craving free play, he incessantly repressed it and never relaxed his vigil. This was not only done to keep from paining those he loved, but also to protect his powers for research by avoiding the distractions that attend arguments and dissensions. He regarded himself as being “not quick enough to hold an argument with any one.” “Unless it was a subject on which he was just then at work he could not get the train of argument into working order quickly enough” (p. 117), which shows how deeply he became concentrated on the problem that he worked on. We must recognize that his self-isolation, in Down, from nearly all social contact, enabled him the more to enjoy the free play of his love for biological research, but the eccentric nature of the self-isolation was made necessary by the ease with which he lost control of himself in a conflict. This, in turn, must be recognized as being largely due to the nature of the repressed affective tendencies. “When he felt strongly about . . . a question, he could hardly trust himself to speak, as he then easily became angry, a thing which he disliked exceedingly. He was conscious that his anger had a tendency to multiply itself in the utterance, and for this reason dreaded (for example) having to scold a servant” (p. 118).

The above characteristics indicate that Darwin could not trust himself to conflict with others or protest with anger because the repressed affect, that was being held back like an uncoiled spring, tended to become associated with the anger of the moment and it multiplied too rapidly to be controlled. In this light we can understand why he accepted everything his father said as final.

It is quite reasonable to give considerable value also to the fact that, although Darwin had to resist his father’s wishes until after the voyage of the *Beagle*, in order to gratify the affective attachment to his mother, after he had fairly clearly formulated his theory

²⁰ Italics mine.

of evolution at thirty, about the time of his marriage, it became obvious to him that the successful proving of his theory lay in his finding a means for devoting all of his life to study, and this his father could easily give him if he were so disposed. This fact, making him that source of nourishment and physical comfort, emphasized the father's omnipotence, and, in his resignation to it, Darwin further renounced independence of affective expression in his relations with him. In one sense, this was fortunate for science and civilization, because it gave him more freedom for affective gratification in the one direction that alone could fascinate him, but, in another sense, it almost ruined his life and spoiled his theory of evolution. No doubt the accidental fitness of Mrs. Darwin, as a mate, saved him. In such adjustments between father and son, when the mate is unsuitable, an incurable mental disaster may result.

The influence of this affective conflict upon his conception of the origin of species and his formulation of the theory of evolution, which was to free science of many suppressive influences, is most interesting. At twenty-nine, when he (p. 68) happened to read for amusement Malthus on Population, he promptly appreciated the significance of the universal struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest, not only because he had enormous collections of such biological data in mind, that became readily correlated with the law, but, because it was his *personal experience*. This evidently was exactly the mechanism of his own triumphant emotional struggle with his father's wish. He was experiencing, from, perhaps, obscure emotional sources, the enthusiasm of the survival of the fittest, because his older brother, whom he affectionately called "poor old Philos" (philosopher), had yielded to the father's domination and studied medicine even though he disliked it and retired soon after graduating, whereas he himself, through his persistence and courage, had triumphed.

Most significantly, Darwin comments (p. 68): "It at once struck me . . . favourable variations (mother's favorite)²¹ would tend to be preserved and unfavourable ones to be destroyed. The result would be the formation of new species," "Poor old Philos" never married, and that word "poor" unconsciously expressed Darwin's appreciation of his brother's silent tragedy. He continues further: "Here then, I had at last got a theory by which to work, but I was so anxious to avoid prejudice that I determined not for some time

²¹ Parenthesis mine.

to write even the briefest sketch of it." As to how much excitement the reading of Malthus on Population caused Darwin can only be conjectured, but he at least felt the necessity of guarding himself against "prejudice."

This cautiousness of Darwin contrasts strikingly with the impulsiveness of Wallace, although both men, when they realized the biological significance of the survival of the fittest, were decidedly aided by their own personal experiences. According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Wallace, "while lying muffled in blankets" (struggling) "in the cold fit of a severe attack of intermittent fever" (in the isolated tropical Moluccas) "began to think of Malthus's *Essay on Population* (which he had read several years previously), and to use his own words, 'there suddenly flashed upon me the idea of the survival of the fittest.' The theory was thought out during the rest of the ague fit, drafted the same evening, written out in full in the two succeeding evenings, and sent to Darwin by the next post." (This inspiration saved his name and brought him his greatest honor. It was clearly an effort to save something of himself from the onslaught of disease.)

Darwin and Wallace differed in their valuation of certain factors in evolution, and this can be traced to *personal experience* and *wish-fulfillment*. In their joint essay "On the Tendency of Species to Form Varieties; and on the Perpetuation of Varieties and Species by Means of Natural Selection" Darwin used the phrases "natural selection . . . which selects exclusively for the good of each organic being" and "sexual selection"; whereas, Wallace emphasized "the struggle for existence."

Even more astonishing is the fact that Darwin, before he had read Malthus, while contemplating marrying his cousin, his mother's niece, made the scientific conclusion, which he entered in his diary, that "*selection was the keystone of man's success. But how selection could be applied to organisms living in a state of nature remained a mystery to me,*"²² showing clearly that this man, as well as Wallace, whose scientific formulations are molding the course of modern civilization, even though rigorously trying to follow pure reason, was unable to avoid unconsciously founding his sincerest conclusions upon his own most delicate emotional strivings.

Three years after his marriage, at thirty-three, he first wrote a brief abstract of his theory, and, at sixty-seven, he made the signif-

²² Italics mine.

icant comment (p. 68): "At the time I overlooked one problem of great importance; and it is astonishing to me, on the principle of Columbus and the egg, how I could have overlooked it and its solution. This problem is the tendency in organic beings descended from the same stock to diverge in character as they become modified. That they diverged greatly is obvious from the manner in which species of all kinds can be classed as genera, genera under families, families under sub-orders, and so forth; and *I can remember the very spot in the road, whilst in my carriage, when to my joy* (symptoms of relieved repressions) *the solution occurred to me; and this was long after I had come to Down.* The solution, as I believe, is that the modified offspring of all dominant and increasing forms tend to become adapted to many and highly diversified places in the economy of nature."²³ What affective resistances prevented him from seeing a principle which he characterized as being as simple as Columbus and the egg? The source of resistance may be quite surely inferred when we consider that the principle means that progressive divergence is an advantage in itself, because the competition is most severe between organisms most closely related, since they require the same food and love-objects, hence it could not help but be associated with the old delicate competition between himself and his father for his mother's affections. The phrase about modified offspring tending to become adapted to diversified places in nature has an interesting example in his marriage to an obvious mother-image, mother's niece, and their retirement from the world to the seclusion of Down, of which he says, "few persons could have lived a more retired life than we have. Besides short visits to the houses of relations, and occasionally to the seaside or elsewhere, we have gone nowhere." It seems not even to the continent. For over forty years, throughout his progressive divergence from his father's wish, she was his wife—mother—nurse.

In 1869, at the age of sixty, Charles Darwin, accompanied by his daughter, visited the home of his childhood, twenty-one years after his father's death. The tenant showed them over the place and with mistaken hospitality did not leave the party. "As they were leaving, Darwin said, with a pathetic look of regret, 'If I could have been left alone in that *green-house* for five minutes,'²⁴ I know I should have been able to see my father in his wheel-chair as vividly as if he had

²³ Italics and parenthesis mine.

²⁴ Italics mine.

been there before me." (The green-house, nature study is the point at which the father and son began a progressive divergence.)

"Perhaps this incident shows what I think is the truth, that the memory of his father he loved the best, was that of him as an old man." Mrs. Litchfield, Darwin's daughter, describes him as saying with the most tender respect: "I think my father was a little unjust to me when I was young, but afterwards I am thankful to think I became a prime favorite with him" (pp. 10, 11).

It is interesting that the wish to visualize his father so vividly, "as if he had been there," was naturally inclined to recall the image of him as a dependent old man, and no longer the father with "the art of making one obey him to the letter" (p. 18). This illustrates again the universal struggle for power that causes so much pain when not handled with insight. Darwin's father was actually a very sincere, kindly, sympathetic man, as his large practise and the affections of his patients showed, and it was not in injustice and severity that he was dominating—that attitude usually justifies an open revolt on the part of the son if the mother does not interfere—but it was in his conscientiousness and sincerity of wishing that he almost ruined his son. It is this type of affective bond that holds the object in the severest grip when it naturally needs to break away, like the lovely daughter who must sacrifice her love for children to a dependent, defective old mother and finds to her horror that she has spontaneous wishes for her mother to release her by dying.

Darwin's method of working showed how keenly he humored his inspirations and nursed his strength in his ascent as a man of intellectual attainments. His study chair was higher than the average—he had long legs—but upon the top of this he placed "foot-stools" so as to considerably elevate himself and then neutralized the additional height by resting his feet on another chair, much to the mirth of the family. The elevated seat of learning surely had a genetic influence in his work through its reënforcement of the compensatory striving which he had to assume in order to compensate for his humility, and deference, and the "fatality" of reasoning, which had become an attribute of his attitude of mind.

When his margin of endurance was too meager to work consistently on other scientific problems he could still collect facts bearing on the origin of species. "I could sometimes do this when I could do nothing else," showing which wish in his personality was

the strongest and could continue to work after the others had to yield to fatigue. He says he never stopped collecting facts on the origin of species.

Never for a moment after clearly conceiving his inspiration did he abandon the creation of it. The excitement and difficulties he experienced in controlling the affective reactions that were aroused, as the secrets of nature were revealed to him, may be estimated by the following comment: When twenty-nine, upon reading Malthus on Population, in which the struggle for existence is emphasized, "It at once struck me that under these circumstances favourable variations would tend to be preserved and unfavourable ones to be destroyed. The result of this would be the formation of new species. Here then I had at last got a theory by which to work; but I was so anxious to avoid prejudice that I determined not for some time to write even the briefest sketch of it." Four years later, he allowed himself to write, in pencil, a thirty-five-page abstract of his theory. This was enlarged two years later into 230 pages, and his completed theory was not published until some twenty-nine years after the first general formulation of his idea of evolution.

Some other peculiarities about Darwin's methods of working are important for the psychologist to recognize. He says: "Whenever a published fact, a new observation or thought, came across me, which was opposed to my general results (it was my practice) to make a memorandum of it without fail at once; for I had found by experience that such facts and thoughts were far more apt to escape from the memory than favourable ones" (p. 71). Also his keen watch for *exceptional phenomena*; and "My love of natural science (the medium for gratification of his childhood's wish) has been steady and ardent." This pure love had, however, been much aided by the ambition to be *esteemed* by fellow naturalists. (Reenforcing post-adolescent wishes produced by the influence of Grant, Henslow, Lyell, and others.) From my early youth, I have had the strongest desire to understand or explain whatever I observed;" (this originated in his mother's curiosity) "that is, to group all facts under some general laws. These causes combined have given me the patience to reflect or ponder for any number of years over any unexplained problem." (This mechanism of *freely* grouping facts under general laws permits the affective cravings full spontaneity of function and they are not then subdued or depressed by inhibiting fears of being unwise or mistaken. The capacity for

spontaneous discriminations and comparisons becomes tremendously greater than when shut in by don'ts.) "I have steadily endeavored to keep my mind free so as to give up any hypothesis, however much beloved (and I cannot resist forming one on every subject), as soon as facts are shown to be opposed to it." He says that every single first-formed hypothesis except the one on coral reefs had to be modified after a time or given up.

Darwin's magnificent courage to think persistently and honestly, and the results of his method as a mechanism of personal improvement, is a splendid example that many of our American scientists, holding influential chairs in research and education, should consider. The minds of American academic scientists seem to be subtly subdued by the fear of making a mistake or of even considering an hypothesis that possibly may have to be modified or abandoned. This is particularly true for psychiatry and psychology.

Darwin's attitude toward the objects of his inquiry, especially flowers, also reveals the affect that forced the inquiry, which was *love*. He seems to have shown no narcissistic cravings to scintillate, nor hatred, prompting him to acquire a triumph in order to have a potent tool for conflict, nor a desire to be admired or to establish priority. His love for flowers led him to treat them almost as personalities. His son says: "I used to like to hear him admire the beauty of a flower; it was a kind of gratitude to the flower itself, and a personal love for its delicate form and colour. I seem to remember him gently touching a flower he delighted in; it was the simple admiration that a child might have. He could not help personifying natural things." His theory made him their coequal. The actual experiences in his life in which flowers were so associated as to arouse such tender affections, he practically tells us, occurred in his early childhood when his lovely, gracious mother revealed her curiosity about the secret of nature which might be answered by looking "inside" of the flower.

Darwin, as a father and a creative thinker, was a most unusual exception to the rule in that he proved to be a successful father; whereas, most intensive thinkers make poor fathers. The career deprives the child of much needed attention. The Encyclopedia Britannica says four of his five sons became prominent in the scientific world. The honor of this, however, probably is due Emma Wedgwood, Mrs. Darwin, whose wonderful personality made it possible for Darwin himself to become the creator of his work.

Darwin's attitude toward his children as an educating influence

was radically different from his father's controlling methods in that he permitted his children to develop as freely as possible, thereby permitting the affective forces to exercise their fullest powers. He treated his children with "unbounded patience" and never "spoke an angry word to them in his life," but it "never" entered their heads to disobey him. This was not their fault but due to the fact that he always "respected" their "liberty" and "personality."

Conclusions.—(1) The principle characteristics of Darwin that made him one of the great constructive thinkers of all time are the loyalty with which he cherished his mother's wish (fortunately it was practical as well as ideal, which cannot be said of the wishes of most mothers). He had to struggle with influences that would divert him from his love-object at ten to seventeen in the classical schools, at seventeen in the medical school, at twenty in a theological school, at twenty-two to make the voyage of the *Beagle* and twenty-seven to thirty when he finally renounced all interest in the last remaining restraints of orthodox Christianity, becoming, as he considered himself, an "agnostic," and coequal of his objects of study.

As a school boy and a student he became depressed and disinterested when he was forced by the stupidity of academic educators to acquire in learning what his emotions had aversions for and yet he literally glowed with enthusiasm when permitted to make his own *natural selection* of friends and literature in biology and geology. His own experience demonstrated that depression of adaptive capacities followed when an environment was persistently unfavorable to the affective needs.

In this respect, the educator's crime of forcing children into prescribed courses deserves the most remorseless criticism, because it is still practised today in our public schools and universities.

(2) "He often said that no one could be a good observer unless he was an active theorizer" (p. 126), which decidedly means that since our spontaneous observations and ability to react to subliminal stimuli, that is, delicate or slight variations in the environment, depends upon the freedom with which the affective-autonomic cravings may work, no one, who must work with material that he hates, can become a good observer. This is the most common cause of the tendency to dullness of thinking in most matured males and females. Economic and moral obligations force the individual to continue with the unpleasant work.

The second attribute that contributed to his success was the ab-

solute freedom of his thinking and theorizing about "everything" (almost) and his humble willingness to abandon any theory, no matter how much beloved it might be, when exceptions disproved it. When the dominant craving that the theory satisfied is not love but hate, it seems to be much more difficult to admit error or to risk an error because it implies an admission of inferiority.

(3) His inherent perseverance, and his humility and sincerity.
(4) His patience, which was probably due to the fact that Mrs. Darwin was a perfect mother-image by birth and temperament.

(5) The assimilation of suggestions from his grandfather's theory and the influence of Grant, Henslow, Sedgwick, Lyle, and Hooker, that counteracted his father's resistance to his becoming a naturalist.

(6) The sacredness with which he regarded his objects of research and the religious manner in which he consecrated himself to the study of Nature and the welfare of humanity.

The influence that *conditioned* Charles Darwin's affective cravings so that the only thing he could satisfactorily do in life was to write theories of evolution and study the secrets of nature were (1) the peculiarly influential nature of the personality of his mother, due to her (a) love, (b) beauty, (c) sweetness, (d) fascination for her father-in-law's work, and (e) her intuitive recognition that he was not through with his task; (2) his grandfather's quest and theory; (3) the personal influence of his post-adolescence hero, Doctor Grant, to which was largely contributory the solution of Darwin's affective dilemma with his father, the confidential nature of the talk, his "silent astonishment" whereby he did not lose the tension of the affective reaction through talking it off; (4) the accidental contact with Professor Henslow's ministerial and scientific interests, in which personal combination the wish to please his mother as well as the conflicting wish to please his father, both found a medium for gratification; (5) his uncle's insight into the father-son conflict; (6) the voyage of the *Beagle*; (7) the father's sensitive half-acknowledgment of pleasure in his son's change of interest from sports to intellectual work; (8) his father's forbearance from further manifest conflict; (9) economic independence; and (10) the unreserved devotion and heroic patience of his wife. When we think of how she devoted her life to his comfort and shared every one of the miserable nights with him during the last years, the only song that Darwin was able to sing from memory has a distinct interest.

AR HYD Y NOS (WELSH).

(All Through the Night.)

Ah! my love, how sad and dreary,
 All through the night,
Is my heart, with sighing weary,
 All through the night.
 Dearest love, couldst thou but hear me,
Surely thou wouldest, hastening, cheer me,
And remain forever near me,
 All through the night.
 Sweetly sang beside a fountain,
Mona's maiden on a mountain,
When wilt thou from war returning,
In whose breast true love is burning,
Come and change to love my yearning,
 By day and night?

The causes of Darwin's anxiety neurosis may be attributed to his complete submission to his father, whereby he deprived himself of all channels of self-assertion in his relations with his father or anything that pertained to him, which, however, if indulged in, might have led to a mortal father-son conflict, because both had irrepressible affective cravings that contended for the idealization of the same love-object. This would, perhaps, as it so often does, have terminated in Darwin becoming a paranoic, if not an invalid. His search for the secrets of nature and his mother's love would then have become hopelessly aborted. Through the renunciation of all envy and all competitive interests in life such as ambition for priority and the unreserved acceptance of his father's word and wisdom, Darwin, by adroitly selecting diversions, succeeded in keeping repressed all disconcerting affective reactions, with no more inconvenience than that of producing nutritional disturbances, uncomfortable cardiac and vasomotor reactions, vertigo, tremor and insomnia.

The more one analyzes personalities, that is the origin of their wishes and the manner of their wish-fulfillment-striving and the accidents that exert a definite influence upon their successes and failures, the more one realizes that many men and women are potentially, finely creative, but few are fortunate enough to become associated with factors that enable them to overcome or evade their resistances.

Darwin's forty years of serious anxiety neurosis, when associated with the father's brother's "incipient" insanity and suicide, may invite the impression of his being a constitutional inferior with

hereditary psychopathic traits that forced him to devote his entire time to what was then regarded as useless theorizing in order that he might grasp the splendid scheme of things entire.

I believe that Darwin's psychopathic traits were entirely due to the persistence with which he repressed certain autonomic functions or affective cravings.

The seriousness of his regret for having conflicted with his father may be seen in the strange quotation which Francis Darwin uses in concluding the biography of his father's life: "As for myself, I believe I have acted rightly in steadily following, and devoting my life to Science. I feel no remorse from having committed any great sin, but have often and often regretted that I have not done more direct good to my fellow creatures" (p. 530). One cannot help but think, in this connection, of the unhappy father who wanted a son to practice medicine with him.

TRANSLATION

A STUDY OF THE MENTAL LIFE OF THE CHILD

BY DR. H. VON HUG-HELLMUTH

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

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(Continued from page 92)

PART II

INTRODUCTION

Playtime (Die Spielzeit)

The play-period, the golden happy childhood days which poets praise as such a beautiful gift granted to each person but once, goes backward for its very beginnings into infancy itself, but expands to full sovereignty in the years before the child hears the sound of the brazen-toned word, "duty," and becomes aware of its fetters for the first time when he enters the school-room. Playtime weaves its golden threads into the hours when school opens its doors, day after day, and a stream of boisterous child-life escapes from restraint to the sound of shouts of joy. But in the delightful period from the first to the sixth year, the very small child is in the world for nothing else and nothing better than to play from morning until night. Indeed he makes everything subservient to play—the requirements of the nursery, also those which family-life involves. And he carries his childish play-wishes with him even into his dreams, so that he may begin his next day's task in the same spirit when morning comes. Thinking and feeling (Denk- und Gefühls-

tätigkeit), and every expression of his will, *all* acknowledge the sceptre of play. Everything becomes a plaything to the child. All the events of home-life find their place in the scheme of play, and even the tragedy of sickness and death loses its terror to the child at play.

In his beautiful book, "Die Spiele der Menschen," K. Groos distinguishes between different forms of play, dividing them into (1) play as means of discovery by experimentation, (2) play as a mode of activity for the impulses (Trieben) of the Second Order. In the making of experiments the sensory and motor apparatus are both in action as well as the intellectual powers (faculties), the feelings and the will. Among the kinds of play in which the impulses of the Second Order come into active expression, Groos reckons games of strife, of love, imitative games, and finally games of a social character. We meet with all these variations of play (occurring) as early as in the tenderest years of infancy.

I. THE BODY AND ITS FUNCTIONS IN THE SERVICE OF PLAY

When the infant is playing, he likes most of all to make experiments upon his own body. During such auto-erotic activity (Betätigung) the body is subject and object (actor and spectator) at one and the same time. No part of the body is so far out of reach but that pleasurable sensations can be obtained from it, and even to the smallest child the aim (object) of play is pleasure. His surprise and curiosity turn into keen joy when he finds, upon feeling his own limbs, that he can make those same members obey his will and that he has in them playthings which no one can wrest from him. Even much later, and long after his body has been sharply differentiated from the environment, the child continues to find in the sensations derived from his body the source of great enjoyment. Then the auto-sadistic tendencies which show themselves even in the first year of life find rich satisfaction in the thousandfold little tortures which each child loves to inflict upon himself, perhaps laughing all the while. He does not account it as a cause of pain to wind a string around one of his fingers until it is blue and cold. He beats himself for fun; he pulls out his own hair and delights in doing so. My nephew, in his fourth year, used to squeeze one foot into an iron coal-rake (Schürhaken) and run around the room in that fashion, laughing and crying out (exclaiming): "Oh! Oh! I cannot bear it!" Also the surprise which a boy not yet six years old prepared for his mother can be interpreted hardly otherwise than as auto-

sadistic, when—by means of a string fastened to a door-latch—he pulled out every other tooth in his upper and his lower jaw. Perhaps there is not a child who would not find pleasure (and that, even into the years of adolescence) in dazzling himself by alternately staring long at a candle-flame and then closing his eyelids, or else in causing sounds to mingle in a chaos by suddenly placing his hands over his ears. Naturally, the ambition to hold out longer than his comrades plays a great rôle in all this experimenting. And who is there who would not, as child, purposely have tasted of sour, bitter things whose taste was already known to be disagreeable?—who would not have done it merely out of mischief (Mutwill), from a desire to show-off and to do a big thing? Under this head also belongs the voluntary eating of May-bugs, worms, etc., on the part of larger children, especially boys—of course only before admiring spectators. Children who like to put themselves on exhibition in this way are never without a strongly sadistic vein.

Since the little child has absolutely no feeling of disgust, and the disgust shown somewhat later only takes the place of pleasure in forbidden things—a pleasure which has not died out but has merely been repressed through training—he continues to find interest in the products of defecation and in the process itself just as he had done in infancy. The original interest in these matters does not become less, although as early as in the third year of life—sometimes even in the second—the child learns, as a rule, to mask that interest to a certain extent. The pleasure experienced with relation to everything connected with this process sometimes breaks forth undisguised. But if the child is obliged to forego all such expression of pleasure, he sometimes seeks a substitute gratification in enuresis nocturna. A boy of nine years, who still indulges in this habit, says that at four years of age when living with an aunt in the country, he wet his bed every day “for his own pleasure” because “lying in something warm” was so comforting, and he liked to feel the linen sheet drying underneath his body, pressed against it. He had played, moreover, that he was having fomentations applied as his mother had had them shortly before when ill of typhoid fever (Bauchtyphus) after a premature delivery. Evidently the heart of his game lay in this phantasy: on the one hand, he identified himself with his beloved mother; on the other hand, he had found pleasure in thinking of (her) pregnancy and early delivery. For he said he had always pressed himself against the sheet so “hard” that his abdomen was quite flattened.

The playing with one's own body and its functions takes on a broader scope as soon as a child has a chance to meet with children of his own age. Then the pleasure in exhibiting one's self and in yielding to the "peeping"-impulse (Exhibitions- und Schaulust) finds a wide field of action (activity) opened (presented) to it; and while those desires are being satisfied, the first ties of friendship are being formed. Thus, when my nephew was in his third year he is said to have related with glee that a girl (nine years old) had shut herself into the bath-room with him and had displayed herself naked. At about the same time his mother heard him inviting a little girl-friend to similar disrobing in the garden, promising—as return-act—to show himself to her. Also I know the following fact in regard to a five-year-old little girl, *i. e.*, that while she and her little brother three and a half years old, had their bath together, she reached repeatedly after his "membrum"; and that the little boy enjoyed making "Nature-studies" on his sister, too. Remembering kindred pleasures of the previous summer, the children called these performances "Seebadspielen" (ocean-bathing). The little boy, "O," who had had enemas frequently ever since his third year, amused himself by "treating" a little girl-playmate in that way; while he declined the procedure, at her hands, terming it "filthiness." Here the repression was so far advanced that he would allow no one but himself to play the active part, while his refusal of the passive rôle (Passivität) pointed likewise to unpleasant associations connected with similar treatments to which he had been obliged to submit in nursery days.

The reason why playing "Doctor" is so common and so much liked is that it is based on childhood-experiences of this same sort, and it is significant that children are apt to retire to an out-of-the-way corner for this kind of play.

In the first three years of life the activity of special senses is of immense importance for play, and the cause of this is that the sense-functions are not yet fully under control at that period, and that the gradual increase in efficiency and accuracy in the use of the organs concerned produces in the child a pleasurable sense of growing confidence in himself and pride in his own strength and dexterity. Naturally this is true in largest measure, in regard to exercise of the muscles in walking, running, climbing, and jumping. The child does not tire of making the same attempts, again and again, until finally, with the aid of loud laughter and screams of delight, he succeeds in drawing the attention of his comrades to his performance.

In doing such feats, he takes care to avoid expressions of pain unless he really receives severe injuries, particularly if he finds that an all too ready sympathy magnifies his courage and represents him as a little stoic who considers repeated falling down simply as a necessary evil and bears it as such. Climbing and going up and down stairs give the child peculiar pleasure; perhaps, in part, because the straining of the thigh and abdominal muscles excites erotic feelings. The little boy, "O," at two and a half years, climbed on the brass rods of a washstand up to the top of it; and when his mother lifted the child down, she noticed that he had an erection. We have no such detailed records before us about any other child, concerning pleasure in climbing, as we have about Shinn's niece, Ruth. The writer does not suggest the sexual significance of this kind of muscular activity, but its presence can be recognized from the abandon with which the child carries on these exercises, from her persistence in performing them, and from the strong pleasurable reaction which they excite. For we are told:¹ "All her thoughts are directed toward climbing. Her heart and soul are set on it." The pleasure attendant on climbing is partly due to the fact that it secures for the young child a chance to satisfy his curiosity by examining birds' nests, feathers, etc. As a rule, when children climb upon chairs, tables, etc., they do so for the purpose of bringing within reach things which adults have forbidden them to look at or to use; and, this being so, one may assume that even the climbing done by older children is not to be considered solely as an especially favored form of muscular exertion, but that it should count, in part, as resistance to compulsion and to prohibition in general. When little "O's" mother wished to make the honey-pot safe by putting it upon a tall cupboard supposed to be entirely out of reach of her little son, the latter declared: "No use, Mamma! I shall climb upon the low seat, from there upon the bed, and then upon the high part of the bed; and from there I can get to the honey very well," and, in truth, he was caught in the act of doing this a few days later. Shinn reports of her niece that she learned to like, in her third year, and still liked when in her seventh year, to climb stairs and to slide down them. We read: "She slides down, now on her feet, now with her body extended at full length, and goes with a jerky motion." This kind of movement suggests unconscious onanism. The same idea is indulged in later, too, in a similar way by sliding down stair-rails,

¹ Shinn, *l. c.*, 537-539, 545, 554 ("Ihr ganzes Sinnen und Denken ist auf das Klettern gerichtet"), 561, 575, 587.

climbing trees and posts, etc., because thus the character of "the shocking," "the objectionable," is taken away from onanism when it has long since meant to the child "a forbidden act." From infancy onward, the child loves rocking and swinging movements; and as a rule this fondness remains and is strengthened, since a chance for sexual excitement, without giving offence, is also presented here. Also the sexual excitement frequently finds itself intensified through the pleasure attending (unconscious) exhibitionism and the "looking habit" (Schaulust), both forms of indulgence being easily gratified by such movements. As long as rocking (or being rocked) is a passive form of pleasure, the participation in it of a purely mental (emotional) component—the demand for love and care—should not be overlooked. This also plays a rôle, to some extent at least, in the infantile impulse to throw things about, a desire which dies out as soon as it is found that no one seeks for the object thrown. Beside the pleasure in the strong action of the muscles which is thus called into play, the child derives no little enjoyment from the agreeable feeling of keeping other people busy with himself. With larger children a sadistic impulse quite often comes to expression in the act of throwing things. The more distinctly a child becomes conscious of his muscle-power, the more intensively he exercises the same. Only the delicate boy draws back instinctively from the scuffles of his playfellows; and often very early this consciousness of bodily weakness gives rise to a feeling of bitterness which finds vent in the compensatory exercise of cunning, or in self-conceit (cultivating a belief in his own mental superiority). The normally robust child, especially the boy, lets no opportunity of exercising his body go unused; and the ancient game of "Who is the stronger?" remains forever alluring to his muscle-erotism. The games where wrestling and fighting come in bear the stamp of sexuality so plainly that it is hardly to be overlooked. Although the educated layman has known, for a long while, what bad effects tickling can have upon children, yet its importance is still too little recognized. Fathers, uncles, grandfathers—that is, in general, individuals of the male sex—cannot refrain from tickling children and thereby exciting them to that forced laughter which degenerates into a compulsive scream-laughter often accompanied by compulsive starts, the analogy of which to the orgasm of hypersensitive adults during the sexual act cannot be denied. Perhaps the peculiarity which many women have of bursting into tears at the height of pleasure has been established through experiences of the tickling

sort in youth. Shinn records:² "As a general thing the tickling of our child was forbidden. Nevertheless, her grandfather tickled her several times in her second year; and this induced in her an extraordinary amount of pleasureable excitement. She threw herself over backward on her grandmother's lap and pointed to her own breast and neck, begging him to tickle her again. When he complied, she shouted and laughed for joy, emitting a tone which did not sound like a reflex movement but like a natural expression of pleasure." This remark in regard to little Ruth's reaction to tickling seems to me worthy of notice for this reason, because in her case the movement—atavistic in the woman—of throwing herself backward upon being excited sexually was especially conspicuous. When boys are tickled, one observes rather a throwing-about of the limbs, a doubling of the body, and a springing up with a jerk—in other words, an increased activity which stands out in contrast to the girl's passivity, both forms of reaction serving to foreshadow the behavior of man and woman respectively in the emotional relationships of their adult life.

With many children the strong development of skin-erotism is manifested in certain bad habits, such as continual scratching of the head, or of the palm of the hand until local inflammation is induced; or again in moving the clothes from side to side on the body—a habit which, in fact, is frequently only a disguised form of onanism. Freud surmises that some time before the third year of life—and as a result of still unexplained instincts of that period—the infantile form of onanism dies down, and that then a latency period comes on which soon gives way in its turn to a flood tide of sexual feeling which falls between the third and fourth years. At that time sex-interests occupy the centre of the infant's feelings and acts, as the result of which he takes up masturbation again. Much has been written about the physical and the mental harm which come from this infantile self-gratification. But it is easy to go too far in such generalizations. One naturally tries to correct a too early activity of the sex(ual) impulses as much as one can, but this is a task which calls for the greatest possible caution. For we know from the analysis of neurotic invalids that the so-called "castration-complex"—that is, a group of feelings and emotion which arise in the infant and become firmly fixed as a result of the threat (outspoken or implied) to cut off the "membrum," or the (substitute) finger, on account of onanism—has such a lasting effect that with many

² Shinn, *l. c.*, 235.

persons it cannot be eliminated, thereafter, from the mental life, and is likely, instead, to become the source of psychic impotence and of other nervous anxiety-states (Angstzustände).³ If we could only teach ourselves to recognize the phenomena of the sexual life not as a forbidden something which should be kept secret from the child, we should be able to tread these paths in more reasonable fashion. Gentle admonition which defines those manipulations as "not nice," but not as harmful, helps the child more than terrifying threats. The motive of love for its mother induces many a child to desist from this form of gratification. My nephew, at the age of four years, after he had been warned repeatedly in regard to this practice, said touchingly, to his mother, one evening: "Mother dear, all day long I have not taken my little tip in my hand, except of course when I have made Wischi (urinated), but then you were with me." Thus when the impulse is not too strong and the onanistic act has not become a habit, love and the stimulus to ambition are able to accomplish more than severity, the purpose of which is not understood and which, for that reason, is doomed to failure. In the diary-like records relating to the development of individual children, unfortunately not even the slightest suggestion is to be found on this important point; and those writers who occupy themselves with this question record nothing but isolated data regarding it, or make remarks not connected with the rest of the chronicle of the child's development. This separating of the sexual components from the whole picture of a childhood history is to blame, in large part too, for the fact that infantile masturbation is so persistently overlooked, or else denied. One sees only the shadow side of the life under observation, without recognizing that these children, as well as others, have lovable traits of character also; and, furthermore, that these children form the majority of young people. Indeed, we look at the dark side without considering that strongly marked sexual manifestations are simply the necessary reverse side of an early developed intellect. When one hears a child called "precocious," one may be sure that before long erotic and sexual characteristics of one or another sort will become manifest. For it is a law of nature that in proportion as the interest of the child becomes awakened, it will be instinctively directed, from inclination, toward that emotional realm that has so much to offer him in the way of pleasurable excitement.

³ This complex speaks out, too, in the fear of many children of having their hair cut. (Author.)

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNDERSTANDING (DIE VERSTANDESENTWICKLUNG)

An early development of the understanding is conditioned upon mentally taking in and digesting the various experiences of daily life; indeed, the existence (evidence) of such development implies that the child has done that very thing. Those about him often believe that the occurrences in question have remained unnoticed by the child; or else people think that "he does not understand." It is certainly true of children, even though not true of adults, that the development of the rational powers proceeds, not at the expense of the emotional life, but almost always "hand in hand" with it. This is much more strikingly true in the case of "only" children than with children who have the opportunity of maturing in the midst of a group of brothers and sisters, and are therefore not removed from contact with the sphere of thought most characteristic of childhood, so often or for so long a period of time as is the "only" child. The highly pleasing "sayings" of children, the spontaneous utterances which give an inkling of the freedom and originality of the childish mind, reflect the closeness of the connection that obtains between the growing child and his environment. Curiosity and attention are the most effective of all the forces which call the rational thought-processes into being. In our characterization of the period of infancy, we have already illustrated how the child reacts to everything which seems to him worth investigation; and what was there said holds good, even more definitely, for the years that follow. Now the question arises: "With what actual experiences do the first ideas, judgments, conclusions tend to deal?" Without exaggeration we can say: With the processes of nourishment and of digestion. The latter process, in particular, just because so much stress is laid on it in his home training, becomes of such engrossing interest to the child as to occupy the central place in his unconscious thoughts and in his games, and this would be so even if there were no constitutional, inherent tendencies at work in favor of this outcome. So strongly does anal- and urethral eroticism become rooted among the instinctive cravings of the infant, that it is not to be cast out in later years except at the cost of genuine renunciation. In both the earlier and the later periods, the holding back of the bowel-movement constitutes a pleasure-accented act; and frequently the immediate need of little children to urinate is to be recognized through noting the cramp-like attitudes that they assume as they go about on tip-toe, and is also to be read from the tense facial expres-

sion which reveals a combination of pleasurable excitement and anxious curiosity—all meaning “How much longer can I hold out?” My nephew, when he was from four to five years of age, did a similar thing. Before paying attention to his need he would hop about on one leg as if possessed, and he met every appeal with the invariable reply: “I must not! I must not!” When these bodily needs, even though urgent, are apparently forgotten during play, the “forgetting” arises from motives of a quite similar sort—as does enuresis nocturna also. The child wishes to enjoy the agreeable feeling of tension in the urethral or in the anal zone as long as he possibly can; and, indeed, with boys the urethral irritation is well known to cause actual erections. The great importance which the child attaches to the excretory act—doing so partly in imitation of his elders—comes to expression in the demand to have his mother present¹ (die Mutter möge dabei sein); and the same tendency is shown in the oft-observed habit which children have of disturbing the meal-hours by calling attention to their personal needs. Children do this even in their fourth year—indeed, even as late as in their sixth year and the deeper meaning of the act, i. e., to claim mother’s care exclusively, *during meal times as well*, is usually overlooked by adults. The father wishes to see this desire treated as a piece of naughtiness; the mother excuses it as a habit linked to the hour. Indeed, with children whose appetite is deficient, a virtue is sometimes made of necessity, in the hope that after the “evacuation” has taken place the meal will prove to be more of a success.

Anal and urethral erotism not only offer the child ample opportunity for playful activity, based on their immediate gratification, but turn his games into definite paths with special outcomes. Urinating through cracks of garden fences, to the greatest possible height on a tree, or in such a way that the stream will rise into the air in serpentine lines, or, again, intentionally letting it run over the edge of the “night-vessel” and listening to the sound it makes—all these are never failing modes of diversion among young boys. As soon as the first strong repression has taken place, then the child’s great liking for water, mud, and sand comes to light. To make a mud-pie not too watery and not too hard, just like a “Drücki”—as my nephew expressed himself—always remains a favorite form of play to the child, all the more so since this gives him a good chance to soil hands, face, and clothes; in that fact lies the chief charm of

¹ Or perhaps the unwillingness to have her present. (Trans.)

the play. Little Scupin² used to defend himself against his mother's reproaches relative to this, and against her plea that his cousin, Lotte, looks clean even while at play, with the reply: "Then she isn't playing right. When one plays right, one makes oneself dirty too." The listening—accompanied by smiles and laughter—to the running off of water, for example of the bath water;³ the playful collecting of saliva and squirting it; all indicates, with the three-year-old child, a shifting of interest from the "forbidden" to the "harmless" zone even thus early. But beside this, as is natural, reverisons to the original form of excitement often occur. In his fifth year, my nephew and a company of smaller and of larger lads, were caught in filling, with a liquid of their own providing, a hollow in the ground dug out for that purpose. With red cheeks and with eyes beaming with delight, little Max came running up to his mother, and said: "Look, Mutti! We must fill our pond up full; it is half full now." And, another time, when he was between three and four years old, and was playing by himself with his railroad-train, suddenly he took several pieces of paper and put them in the last coach with the remark: "There! That is for the conductor when he has to make 'Drücki'." This is a variation of the thought of all children: "What do the engineer and the conductor do when they need to relieve themselves?"—a question which, upon the child's first visit to the theater, is extended to include actors⁴—and a question which, in its repression, forms perhaps one of the reasons for the urgent "call of Nature" at the wrong time.⁵ Certainly the anxiety of many adults, when making a journey, to find a place in a coupé as near as possible to the toilet-room, is likewise to be traced to the same source as is the irresistible compulsive laughter (*Lachzwang*) of many people when an entire company listens intently to an unexpected noise.

Not only do the functions of digestion serve the child for the purposes of play, but his budding understanding knows how to put them to use, a little later, in the service of his feeling and emotion. In Diary III, No. 4953, under the date of Dec. 24, 1851 (published

² Scupin, *l. c.*, II, p. 215.

³ Shinn, *l. c.*, 225; Stern, *l. c.*, 325.

⁴ O. Ernst, Asmus Sempers *Jugendland*, XI. Kap. When five-year-old Asmus is taken to the theater for the first time by his brothers, he inquires—among many other things—whether one can "go out" while there, if one "has to go"?

⁵ A very common symptom among nervous patients, as also among clergymen going to the pulpit, and soldiers going into battle. (Trans.)

by R. M. Werner, II edition), Hebbel records, in regard to his daughter Titi, at that time three years old: "If the maid-servants will not conduct themselves as she wishes, she threatens to wet herself." The child, in short, punishes a lack of affectionate attention (Liebe) to him and his desires, with whatever means he has at his command and in the way which seems to him likely to be as unpleasant as possible to those whom he wishes to rebuke.

The open manifestations of anal and urethral erotism become repressed and checked, as time goes on, in proportion as the effect of training makes itself felt; and in its place there appears gradually the sense of "modesty." This repression of desires which in themselves are pleasurable often brings it about that a feeling of disgust arises which is not directed solely against the processes immediately in question and against the products of the bowel-evacuation, but is very frequently transferred to the very taking in of nourishment, and expresses itself especially in the refusal to partake of certain dishes which from their color remind one of the "defecation-products." One day, at noon, when roast hare was served, in brown gravy, my nephew, then about four years old, called out: "What have you got there? I'm not going to eat that. That looks like Drücki." And upon eating chocolate he said: "Pfui! Now my fingers look full of Drücki!" (evidently having in mind the coprophilic practices of his first year). Such mental associations as this undoubtedly take place with most children, though they are not allowed to clothe them in words. In close association with the progressive repression of this interest in the defecation-process, it frequently happens, even in infancy, that ceremonial observances of one or another sort are brought into play, as invariable accompaniments of the excretory act—ceremonials which retain their importance even into the period of puberty. In closest connection with anal and urethral erotism stands the pleasure which children have in exhibiting themselves and in "peeping" (die *Exhibitions- und Schaulust der Kinder*) which propensities, of course, also indicate the infantile trains of thought. The former inclination (exhibitionism) seems to be inborn, a native instinct, since it is already in evidence at a period when the eye is of but little importance as an erogenous zone, the power of perception being still but slight. One has, therefore, the right to assume that pleasure in exhibitionism ("exposure") comes originally from the agreeable skin sensations accompanying changes of temperature. It is, however, by no means without a sexual accent—a fact which becomes evident when one

takes note of the parts of the body chosen for exposure. It is the genitals that are thus selected during the first three or four years; and it is not until educational factors have come in, that the child seeks to conform, in this respect, to the demands of custom. Next in order of preference to the organs of generation come the nates, which the child finds it pleasant to have exposed, both when he is awake and when he is asleep. Children continue also, to make use, in fun or in anger, of certain gestures which are to be thought of as repressed exhibitionism. With his fine gift (power) of observation, Bogumil Goltz⁶ recognized this tendency, and devotes the following passage to its description: "When the diminutive piece of manhood clad in child's frock, wishes to make himself especially annoying to the grown-ups, he often threatens to make himself naked, and he likes best to voice his threat in the words, 'Ich heb' mich gleich Bauchchen'; and to this may be added another barbarism, 'I shall dash myself on the ground, this minute.' But one does not let one's self be bullied; and so, straightway, the little rebel rolls on the floor 'in puris naturalibus'—a sort of sansculottism in child's clothes. At the worst, this amount of rebellion leads to a little tickling with a switch, and costs only those charming childhood tears which the spectator does not know whether to take as laughing or crying; for, indeed, the small creator of them does not really know himself." One might look upon the sudden changes of rage into laughter, occurring under such circumstances as these, as examples of psychic discharge taking place just in consequence of the unhindered carrying out of exhibitionistic desires. This way of looking at the matter finds itself endorsed by the habit which obtains among sensible parents, of simply letting the child rage himself out. The pleasure in exposing one's own body is an expression of "narcissism." Originally it is practiced by children of both sexes to the same degree; but with the boy narcissism soon enters paths along which it moves veiled in many a disguise. And it is just here that the profound difference which exists between the sexes makes itself apparent. In his second and third years, however, the little boy pays himself the tribute of as honest admiration as the little girl does herself. Thus when for lack of other covering, a little woolen jacket belonging to his aunt was put around my nephew, then in his fifteenth month, he looked at himself in the mirror with a satisfied smile and could not have enough of stroking himself and exclaiming "Ei! Ei!" in praise of his appearance. Although he was still unable to understand

⁶ B. Goltz, *Buch der Kindheit*, p. 250.

speech, yet his aunt's good-natured raillery, "Look! He is quite in love with himself," must have made an impression on him; for the next day when his mother returned after a day's absence, he could not be induced to put on the little jacket again. Unfortunately, especially with girls, narcissism finds abundant food in the fashion-follies which vain mothers cannot deny themselves the pleasure of following; and they do that without stopping to consider of how much naturalness, of how great freedom of movement, they deprive their children. This form of display does not succeed with the boy as a rule; he would far rather run around day after day, in the same little torn or patched smock-frock than to suffer a curtailment of his freedom of activity. The inherited aggressiveness, which is stronger with the boy, leads him to indulge his exhibitionistic desires more publicly than the girl does hers. In addition, training (pedagogy, die Erziehungskunst) contributes much to impress the feeling of modesty upon the girl earlier and more strongly than upon the boy. In spite of that, however, the excretory acts retain their power, even with girls, to furnish a desired excuse for "seeing" and "being seen." Love for animals proceeds in part from the great delight with which the child watches these processes in them. The chance to make close observations is indeed much more easily managed under such conditions than it is with playmates or in the case of adults—although it is precisely with them that the child misses no opportunity of "peeping," in the hope of seeing something that might give the explanation of many an obscure problem. In the same way, in order to gratify their ears, at least, if not their eyes, children like to lurk round toilet-room doors. Indeed, many children make a direct demand to be taken in there with the mother, and it is especially true of boys; the attraction of the opposite sex is conspicuous in this. As a general thing this desire comes from memory-traces of times when the mother, thinking the child asleep, or else that he is noticing nothing, has put less reserve than usual upon herself in satisfying her needs. Or, again, the child's request arises from remembering journeys during which the mother was afraid to let her two- or three-years old child wait at the door of the toilet-room in frequented railroad-stations. I leave out altogether those isolated cases in which the unfreed residues of her own anal-erotism are the unconscious motives of the mother's fear. When the first thoughts and words are formed (Gedanken- und Wortbildung) it is natural for them to be connected with an emotional sphere so erotically marked. Anal-erotism is of supreme importance in the forma-

tion of character—as Freud has shown in his work; and I will not end my remarks on the subject of anal-erotism without at least indicating in what relation it stands to the question which is of greatest importance to the child, the question "How do children come into existence?" If I reserve the detailed consideration of this until later, yet I should like to mention here that in the course of the child's search for a satisfactory solution of this enigma, there always comes a period in his development when he takes the excretory act as giving the longed-for explanation of the mystery—hence the "Lumpftheorie" of Hänschen,⁷ and little Anna's opinion of the matter.⁸ Each child is satisfied with this self-found theory so long as he thinks of the mother as sole creator of (the) children. It seems entirely natural to him that a foreign body should be cast out of the mother's body by way of defecation, or else of vomiting (*i. e.*, either through the intestinal tract or else through the esophagus).

Pleasure in exhibitionism and in "peeping," leads the infantile mind to occupy itself deeply with the engrossing problem of nakedness. The child's interest in it is expressed in countless questions. As long as he is not prevented from speaking frankly about the matters, whatever they may be, with which his reasoning-power is engaged, he never grows weary of talking about those parts of the body which are the source of his most pleasurable feelings and making them the central point of conversation. The fondness for dolls which is so characteristic, in the earliest years, of boys and girls alike, springs from the demand (desire) to see the human body, or at least an image of it, entirely without clothing. And because little bath-dolls meet this wish the nearest, they enjoy a special popularity with all children. This lively interest soon causes the child to seek means of distinguishing between the sexes, and this is particularly the case with children who grow up among brothers and sisters. The boy thinks of the genitals of the girl as something unfinished, something incomplete, something to which time must be counted on to give the proper growth. The root of the pride of the male in his sex lies in this conception. The boy, as a rule, considers the girl as his inferior, because she lacks that member from which he derives so much pleasure. Soon comes the time when his affection goes out with special strength to the mother; and similarly he acts as guardian to the little girls even when they are above him in

⁷ Analyse d. Phobie eines fünfjährigen Knaben. Jahrbuch f. psycho-an. u. psycho-pathol. Forschung., I.

⁸ Jung, Konflikte d. kindlichen Seele. Jahrb. f. psycho-an. u. psycho-pathol. Forschung., II.

years and in size. Thus, my nephew, when four or five years old, would summon ten-year-old girls to join him in play, by calling out to them: "Here little girl! Will you play with me?"—and upon being instructed that the child was already a big girl, much older than himself, he would add naïvely: "Well, yes, older; but for all that she is only a girl." Little Scupin, too, in his fourth year, found his sex an advantage.⁹ The diary tells us that "Bubi is very proud every time his father takes him by the hand and goes out for a walk with him upon the 'Steinmauer' or along the 'Waldweg.' And because on one occasion his father spoke of himself and Bubi as 'we men,' Bubi's pride and feeling of superiority now know no bounds. He puts on a serious and exceedingly dignified bearing, tries to keep exact step with his father, and is very much concerned that no feminine individual should join them. 'But mamma must not follow us, nor grandma either!'" Premature awakening of the sense of modesty marks those cases where boys wish to do without the "member," under the pretext of its being inconvenient and superfluous. It speaks for itself that in the latter assertion there lies an unuttered question as to the true purpose (use) of the "member." Sometimes the wish to look like a girl, *i. e.*, to be like the mother in all respects, is at the foundation of this eagerness to be thus altered.

As one might expect, interest in the genitals begins earlier with the boy than with the girl. If the latter has no brothers and no boy playmates, it even happens in some instances that until puberty arrives she remains in uncertainty as to the difference between the sexes (*über den Geschlechtscharakter*). Her mind is not clear on this matter because observations accidentally made on the street lead to confusion in her thoughts; and the same is true of pictures. Figures wearing the loin-cloth (especially in pictures of the saints), the fig-leaf on pieces of sculpture, etc., contribute, it is true, to keep the imagination busy, but do not help at all to a calm and clear conception (*Auffassung*). This concealment of the naked truth awakens in the intelligent child the impulse to investigate the interior (*inside*) of things. He becomes soon carried away by the wish to obtain an explanation for the processes going on within his own body, and above all else to have revealed to him the secrets of the process of digestion. This wish shows itself undisguised in questions such as children from three to six years of age like to ask, for example: "Has everybody a Popo (buttocks)?" "Father and mother, too?" "What would happen if I had no Popo?" "Must

⁹ Scupin, *l. c.*, II, p. 28.

a person die whose Popo is grown together?" etc. Why it is that both sorts of excretions from the body do not have exit through a common orifice, in the same way that solid and liquid nourishment are taken into the body through one and the same alimentary tube; what the intestines look like "inside," and similar thoughts—these are the primitive questions which soon experience a shifting in form to more "harmless" topics, when the child has been reprimanded and made to realize that his constant occupation with such interests is objectionable. "Why do I have hair, nails, skin?" "Why does one wash oneself every day?" "Why have I only one nose but two eyes?" "What if a man had four feet!" "How would it be then?" "Why do not people have tails?" etc. The innocent question: "Why is the blood red?" always covers a desire to introduce regularly the favorite but repressed theme which is often finally brought to a point in the form of inquiries with regard to the color of the bowel-movements (Exkrete).¹⁰ The inclination, quite common among older children and adults, to reject certain shades of yellow and brown as "disgusting," goes back to the preference for them in earliest childhood.

The first perception of his own erections is of the utmost significance to the boy. Unless, indeed, they remain unnoticed in the very first years of life, it is hardly possible that the feeling of tension connected with the erections should escape the notice of the intelligent child; he cannot remain unaware of it. But unfortunately, nothing is said by any author with regard to this point. My nephew, it appears, first became conscious of an erection some time in the course of his sixth year. At least, it was during that period that he first asked the following question: "Mutti, why is my Zipferl (little tip=membrum) sometimes very small and thin, and then so large and stiff, standing up so straight that there is no room for it in my trousers?" Ans.—"You know it is that way with the mouth. It is almost always small, but when one laughs or yawns it gets wider and longer without our knowing exactly how." "Yes, and when eating, too; and my Zipferl does the same when I have to make Wischi (urine); that is why my Zipferl is so thick in the morning when I wake up."

From observing one's own body it is only a step to compare it with the bodies of other persons. Looking over and "sizing up" representatives of his own sex introduce the child to the ideas (zu

¹⁰ This is the more exciting problem because strongly and habitually excluded from ordinary conversation and related to various other forbidden topics. (Trans.)

d. Begriffen) of "large" and "small"; while observations made on the other sex lead to knowledge of differences between the sexes. Shortly before his sixth birthday, in a conversation about "young and old," "large and small," of his own accord my nephew put the following questions: "How large is the Zipferl of a big man?" Ans.—"I don't know." "So large (indicating 30 cm.)?" Ans.—"No." "Or so long (showing the length of his middle finger)?" "Why does it grow so large with a man?—and how is there room for it then in his trousers?" Ans.—"All parts of the body grow—the nose, the arms, the legs—and so that member must become large." "Of course. It would be funny (ridiculous)—such a tiny Zipferl for such a big man! And then it has to be so large because a man makes so much Wischi (urine)." After some minutes' play with his building-blocks, he continued: "Yes, yes—so long (pointing to the longest building-block). I have seen it on men in the street, on coachmen. But once, on one of them, it was all red, all bloody; and I was afraid." This last remark makes one infer that the child may have entertained fear of mutilation of his own "membrum," although the house-maids and the bonne had been expressly charged not to use such threats.¹¹

For children of three or four years old, or less, the difference between the sexes is solely an affair of clothing. How much nearer his father the little boy feels who has outgrown the sexless kilt and has received his first pair of trousers. And what an unbearable picture of disgrace is called up when the threat is made that he will have to put on the little dress again if he does not show himself worthy of trousers! Here, too, a logical explanation by my nephew may well find place, when, thinking of the dissimilarity between man and woman as something entirely appropriate, he said: "Mutti, I know you have hair here (pointing to her lap); all women have it, because they have no Zipferl. And the men (I know that from seeing Herrn Direktor K—when I went bathing in the Danube) have long black hair on the chest, of course because they have no such 'Hügel' there as women have." In this fashion the sex-problem, with its attendant mysteries, occupies the child's mind unceasingly; and with a little less exhibition of prudery on the part of adults, who are over-quick to take offence at such frank, artless expressions of childish speculation, a chance would be afforded for still deeper disclosures (revelations) about matters which are of vast importance for education (Erziehung). These observations

¹¹ A threat not uncommon among thoughtless and ignorant persons.

which the child makes are not without their poetic side. Thus, a little boy of five years, after watching his little two-year-old sister in the bath, called her protruding navel "a rose-bud" (Knospe von einer Rose), while he said his own navel looked like "a little fritter." Little Scupin calls his prosaically, "little belly-bobbin" (Bauchknöppel). The female breasts are of greatest interest to the child; and this is partly due to the memory of their rôle as first source of pleasure. Such interest appears especially in children who have been nursed beyond the normal time. Even toward the end of his second year a certain little boy begged his mother every day at noon for "a bit of bosom" (um ein Stücki Bu); and the same boy was in the habit, even in his seventh year, of openly making known his dislike of over-slender women, through the disparaging criticism: "Pfui! that woman has no Bu (bosom)!" It seems to the child, and particularly to the girl, that the chief difference in the sexes lies in the development of the breasts; and the many means which growing girls use to beautify their persons have their deepest root in unfulfilled child-wishes. Similar aids to beauty are often made use of with dolls, as their little girl owners soon discover. And this makes clear the naïve remark of a small five-year-old, whose female relatives were all of them very thin, but who (the child) had had the chance to observe a family friend with large breasts: "When I am grown up, I shall stick as much cotton (padding) inside my dress as Fräulein L— does in hers."

From such expressions as the above, the sexual¹² character of the child's longing "to be big" speaks out clearly. The following passage in regard to that longing is to be found in Bog. Goltz: "What all children, equally and without distinction, cannot wait for with patience is to be 'grown up' (Grossgewachsensein). The persistent question of all places and times is the one known to us all through personal experience: 'When shall I be big?—very big?—as big as father and mother? When shall I be a father? When can I marry? When can I go out alone, eat alone, put on trousers, go to school, not go to school any more, and do everything I like?'"¹³ In these prospectings into the future, the thoughts of "marrying" and of becoming a "father" (or a "mother") come into the foreground again and again. In true child fashion, the future "milieu" is to be exactly like that of the present. E. and G. Scupin report as

¹² In the opinion of the translators, the desire for power is of quite equal importance with the other desire, here defined.

¹³ Bogumil Goltz, *Buch der Kindheit*, p. 249.

follows with reference to the fourth year of their boy's life:¹⁴ "He has now entered that phase in which the story constantly runs thus: 'When I am big and tall, then—will—be.' To-day, for example, we heard him talking to himself in this way: 'But when I am very big and tall, then I shall be as big as the sun. Yes, yes, and when I am as big as the sun, then my head must bend, or the ceiling will hit me.'" In the morning—so we are told—he was fond of getting into bed beside his mother "so that his feet were against the foot-board," and then imagining himself taller than his mother whose feet did not touch it. The longing to be taller than mother is common to all boys and expresses the unconscious wish for sexual mastery (*Überlegenheit*). The correctness of the sexual interpretation is shown clearly in the note (p. 74) with regard to the tenth month of the fourth year: "Shall I be a papa when I am grown up? Can I drink coffee when I have become a papa? What will Lotte say when I am a big father (Lotte is his cousin about six months older)?" Ans.—"Lotte will then be a 'big' mamma." "But what do papas and mammas do all the time, I wonder?" Once, a month later, impatiently and imperatively he "desired" to be a papa. Upon being assured that he would certainly be one some day, he asked naïvely, "But does that come so slowly (Aber wächst das so *langsam*)?" Perhaps the naïveté lies only in the pronunciation of the words and not in the flow (direction) of his thoughts.

It is true in the life of every child that sleeping in a large bed signifies a mighty approach to the desired goal of being "grown up." At the beginning of his fifth year, little "O" shed bitter tears because he was expected to be satisfied with a child's small bed during a stay in the country. He rebelled against this humiliation even while he was dreaming. "No, no! there is no place for me (lit., I have no place)." Scupin's diary (p. 85) also relates: "It was a great event in Bubi's life when he had a large bed such as adults use, and slept there instead of in his hitherto occupied crib. At night, of his own accord, he asked to be taken to bed (a request hardly ever made before that), and in the morning he was unwilling to get up, because he wished to enjoy the big bed longer. In a contemptuous tone he called his small bed, 'the baby bed,' and he assured us that he would not 'be a baby' any more now in his big bed, and that he would hold fast to the corner of the bed-spread."

This longing to be "grown up," to be "big" (*gross zu sein*), that lies at the heart of all children's games, shows itself most

¹⁴ Scupin, *Bubi vom vierten bis sechsten Lebensjahre*, pp. 36, 74, 83, 94.

clearly in the directly imitative plays, such as reading the newspaper, writing letters, smoking, wearing glasses, etc.

Little girls, when they make use, in their games, of their newly acquired knowledge concerning the structure and the functions of the human body, are apt to do so secretly, when by themselves. The little boy, on the contrary, can hardly wait for the chance to communicate his new-found information to some grown man. The boy is not content with what his mates tell him; the instruction they give him does not satisfy him; he prefers to cross-question adults in order to gain still further knowledge. There is need here of great wisdom on the teacher's part. For the child should neither be denied the opportunity of interesting himself in matters which to him seem harmless, nor led to brood over problems which are made over-exciting through remarks and questions of a lustful nature—a danger which becomes greater the more the child is left with servants. To the person who knows how to take the right way in discussing such subjects, the difficult question of "sexual enlightenment" loses the greater portion of its terror. In fact, the difficulty drops away and vanishes—at least, in regard to those points with reference to which the child has not previously been misled. The child's understanding becomes broadened through an intelligent explanation, fact by fact, and the decision, contemplated with such dread, "How and when shall I tell my child what he ought to know?" loses all its painfulness.

III. MEMORY (DIE ERINNERUNG)

One of the most important functions of the human mind (Geistes) is memory. It implies the ability to form associations and presupposes a certain mobility of the mental elements; and by virtue of this—as spontaneous (freisteigend) and voluntary recollection—it provides the indispensable prerequisite for learning anything. The fore-stage of the process of remembering, namely, the act of recognition, is not a pure association-process. Even in the case of very young children it acquires, almost at once, an emotional character which is manifested under the form of surprise, or desire, or repulsion. During the period of life that precedes speech, this "feeling-tone"—connected as it is with "choice" or "will-reaction" (Willensreaktion)—expresses itself in gestures; but with advancing development not only does the child employ speech, the most expressive means, to show pleasure or displeasure upon recognizing a person or thing, but he reproduces, in unconscious thought,

the situations in which these objects once had an affective significance for him. In brief, only those experiences can be remembered to which a strong "feeling-tone" of pleasure or of displeasure was originally attached, even though—as the result of definite but unconscious motives—this note of pleasure may have been (may become) entirely repressed later. There come into existence in that way those memory-fragments (*Stück-Erinnerungen*) which seem incomprehensible even to the individual concerned, because their most important component is absent from consciousness; he is unaware of the objectionable element for the sake of which they have been retained in memory.

It is often taken for granted that the earliest memories of the adult do not reach back farther than his fourth year; that in some way they are related to speech-development. But when one considers that, as a rule, children two or three years old remember clearly events occurring in their second, yes, even in their first year, then one must admit that some further explanation must be sought for the fact that the memory of adults fails them for the period of life before the third or fourth year. This explanation is to be found in intentional repression—as is shown from the psycho-analysis of neurotics and from the study of dreams. The apparently senseless stuff with which dreams deceive us, and the mental material which the psycho-analyst wrings from the patient with infinite pains—all this is rooted, in the form of subconscious memory-traces, in the experiences of earliest infancy. From the therapeutic and the pedagogical standpoint, as well as from the psychological standpoint, it would be no "unprofitable experiment"—as Preyer calls it¹—to seek to carry over, well into the more advanced years of childhood, the memory-contents of the second and third years. Those memory-pictures would lead to the explanation of many so-called childhood faults, and to the understanding of many peculiarities noticed in adults.

The memories which reach back the farthest are especially apt to tell of experiences which have sexual or erotic contents; and in consequence of the persistent, arbitrary and artificial (*künstlich*) repression of his strong instinct-life (*Triebleben*), such memories are soon recognized by the child as objectionable subjects of conversation and are banished to the subconscious region of the mind. In his work entitled "The Mental Development of the Child," Compayré assumes that it is in the greater or less precocity of the child

¹ Preyer, *Die Seele des Kindes*, p. 233.

that the reason is to be sought for the differences which obtain as to the point of time to which the first memories go back. But since the term "precocity" is nothing else than a euphemistic term for a lively sex-interest, this opinion places us at once on the fertile soil of the Freudian teaching. Not only is it likely that the child's close attention will be directed to whatever excites his sex-interest, but the matters so observed are sure to be revived upon occasions which seem to the adult to have no logical connection therewith, and to furnish no reason for such revival. There is no element of the "accidental" either in the operations of memory or in any other psychic occurrence; but it often happens that the connecting threads of thought are positively concealed from us, or else that we do not choose to see them.

The fidelity of memory for the reproduction of what has been experienced depends upon the strength of the emotional emphasis (Gefühlsbetontheit) by which the experience is marked. The source from which this emphasis is derived may be some circumstance that might seem of secondary significance, and it is in obedience to this principle that those instances are seen where past and present events are linked together in our thoughts, in ways that appear absurd or mysterious to us so long as we do not recognize "the subconscious," or do not give it the place which belongs to it in the mental life. This is illustrated by the case of a lady of thirty-nine, who, just before a gynecological examination, which was undertaken for the purpose of a curetting, suddenly remembered an expression of severe displeasure which she had drawn upon herself from her father in her sixth or seventh year, because in spite of her being repeatedly forbidden to do so, she had opened the buds of a fuchsia-stalk before their unfolding. To the person who does not know about the sexual significance of flowers in the life of the child, such seemingly unmotivated memories apparently arise without reason.

The memories connected with erotic experiences are frequently the ones which are the most pleasurable and the most tenacious, even with the adult; and when age or illness prevents actual sexual indulgence, such memories often take the place of it—and yet, in spite of this, there is a strong disinclination to admit that the *child's* ability to remember is something that depends upon his sexual and erotic feelings. W. and C. Stern² furnish us with the following

² W. u. C. Stern, *Erinnerung, Aussage, und Lüge in der ersten Kindheit*, p. 62.

"memory" which their little son, Günter, gave at the age of three years and two months (August, 1905): "Once, in Swinemünde, when his mother was ill in bed, and the family was eating dinner in her bed-room, he said: 'You were sick once, in the old house; and we ate dinner in your bed-room, too.' Mother: 'Do you know where you sat?' Günter: 'That's all I know.'" To this Stern merely makes the remark that the event lay three quarters of a year behind them—hence that the "latency-period" (the interval until the "memory" came) amounted to nine months. But he does not mention that when the family dined the first time in the sick mother's bed-room, a little sister had been born not long before (Dec. 29, 1904), and that therefore the memory was linked with a highly exciting (affektvoll) circumstance. The same author³ gives still another illustration which has reference to the fourth month of Günter's third year: "After a month had passed since a certain incident took place, the picture of a double-looped snake set free the memory—'Bille (Brille, spectacles)—Ella.'" Stern throws the following light on those words: "In Schreiberhau the boy's mother had made spectacles out of pasteboard, and had put them on the children for the game of 'Doctor.' And once a little playmate, named Ella, brought as her contribution to the game, a similar pair of spectacles with her. The double loop of the snake served to remind the boy of the spectacles; and they, in their turn, recalled his playing with Ella." When Günter was two years and six months old, at sight of a small picture for children, this Ella appeared (came to mind) again. The pronounced sexual note of the favorite game of "Doctor," together with the erotic tinge (Erotik) of early friendships between children, explain adequately the entrance of the memory-picture into consciousness. The influence of unconscious sexual thought-associations showed itself very plainly, also, in the memory-life (Gedächtnisleben) of Stern's oldest child, little Hilda.⁴ The sight of an uncle who was present on one occasion while she was having a tub-bath reminded her of when "Onkel F— bathed with a suit on." It was pointed out in the earlier part of this book, what an important rôle the problem of nakedness (insufficient clothing) plays in relation to the child's mental life (Geist); and now we find that view strengthened by a new set of facts. Here are, for example, two boys, respectively seven and eight years old, who remember vividly a sojourn in the country, of some four years ago;

³ W. u. C. Stern, *I. c.*, p. 56.

⁴ W. u. C. Stern, *I. c.*, p. 57.

and they lay special emphasis upon the fact that they slept in one bed, and tell how they played with each other under the bed-clothes, before going to sleep at night. With boys, as is well known, railway-journeys are frequently the cause of the first sensually toned feelings. For days afterward, the journeys form a fruitful subject of conversation for the children, and that not merely because of the numerous new impressions made on their minds by the brisk traffic, etc. As a matter of fact, the first railroad-journey is remembered by many children all their lives, and in particular, the fear experienced at every shrill whistle of the locomotive—fear which not seldom implies feelings of a sexual nature. The five-year-old boy, "O," admitted to his mother that the reason why he liked to ride on a train of cars so very much was because he always needed so greatly to relieve his bodily needs at such times, yet could not go to the toilet-room—"and that was such fun."

Spontaneous flashes of fanciful thought—the well-spring of wit—are of common occurrence in childhood, indeed are rather characteristic of that period; and all the delightful sayings which one cannot designate better than by calling them "child-talk" (*Kindermund*), owe their very existence to the easily stimulated (excited) power of memory. And as the best jokes, the most witty remarks, understood by everybody and finding free acceptance everywhere, have flourished upon sexual soil, so the most pleasing sayings of children are rarely without the unconscious expression of the desire for knowledge pertaining to sexual matters. In those sayings the experiences of earlier times are mirrored—those personal experiences which are intermingled with the general events of the day, affected by them, and altered also through the influence of training.

Pedagogy erects its educational structure upon the ability of the human mind (*Seele*) to remember. That is the foundation and the necessary presupposition for the mental and emotional development of the individual, as well as for the civilization (*Kultur*) of races. But for the aid of memory every attempt to influence the infantile mind (*Seele*) would be ineffective, and one could never succeed in teaching the child to take his proper place in the world, to submit to social custom—to the so-called "conventions." When using punishment for the child's good, we appeal to his power of memory; and we do the same with reference to each word of admonition, each word of affection, and every expression of good-will. Tiedemann⁵ reports as follows with reference to his son then near the end of

⁵ Tiedemann, *l. c.*, p. 34.

his second year: "On the twentieth of July he came upon a place in the house where he had been punished, about four weeks before, because he had made a mess there. Without other provocative cause than the sight of the familiar spot, instantly he said (not distinctly in entire words, but plainly enough to let this be recognized as his thought) that whoever "dirted" the room would get a good beating. Thus we see, that thoughts proceeding from that time of woe had remained with him. As we have learned, masochism and muscle-erotism take away from every punishment much of its painful character; and evidently they did not miss their effect in this case, in spite of the tender youth of the boy in question. The mind of the child receives impressions easily, all pleasure-accented ones in particular, and holds them hard and fast. For that reason, the "forgetting" of a command forbidding something or of an order to do something, is seldom a true forgetting but is one desired by (it represents a real desire of) "the subconscious." The unconsciously motivated forgetting is a form of forgetting which, as soon as it becomes a source of pleasure (lit.=as soon as the gain in pleasure is drawn from it), turns into a remembering. The child, like the adult, often forgets where he intends to forget,⁶ only the motives for this process remain more thoroughly concealed from him than they do under like conditions from the grown person. It is significant that mothers are so often obliged to remind their children of the necessity of responding to their bodily needs; while this is rarely the case when the children are at meals, and then mostly if the food is little liked.⁷ Conversely, the memory is very active⁸ if only it is sufficiently well established upon an erotic basis (sexuell-erotisch fundiert). During a stay in the country, in his fourth year, my nephew let no day go by without passing his urine through a hole in a certain garden-fence, sooner or later, while he was out for a walk. And even now, after three years have passed, the memory of that board fence calls out a meaning smile.

Memory-images are of greatest importance in the learning of letters and numbers during play. The majority of children from educated families know the alphabet and the numbers, wholly or in part, long before the beginning of the school-period. Most children teach themselves the letters from those found on business-signs, placards, hand-bills, etc. Surely it is of some consequence what kind

⁶ He forgets what he does not want to remember. Trans.

⁷ Thus with children, their own memories prove sufficient guides when supplemented by the influence of a hearty meal. Trans.

⁸ It needs no additional influence. Trans.

of advertising media these are. My nephew had the liveliest interest in representations of scenes of jealousy and of murder, in the bill-posters of a moving-picture show, and likewise in the pictures of fights (especially of naked wrestlers); but he liked pictures designed for children, too (preferring scenes of punishment). He studied out for himself the letters and numbers on placards—also on the sign-boards of the electric street-cars. For instance, at three and a half years of age, he called the cars marked with a figure 8, "Pretzel-cars," "S-cars," "Snake-cars."

According to Preyer and others, memory controlled by will, namely, the act of recollecting (recalling) (das Sich-Besinnen), appears in the third year—but according to Stern, not until later. These acts are of supreme importance as having a direct bearing on education. For as soon as the child is able to subject his memories more and more to his will, and hence by turning voluntary attention to something in the past to have the power to summon it at pleasure from the store-house of memory—then the time has arrived when instruction and admonition will begin to have lasting influence. But at this stage of his life, the child also becomes acquainted with certain illusions of memory (Erinnerungstäuschungen), although, for reasons to be discussed later, he is apt to hold fast to them in spite of recognizing their true nature. Frequently it happens that (the process of) recollection appears first in relation to localities (places) where the child has had experiences of some sort which were of emotional importance. My nephew who was once to blame for his mother's missing a train because of his playing too long with a little dog, remembers the circumstances perfectly to this day—after three and a half years. Memories connected with time are more slowly established than those relating to place. To the child "once" is sometimes yesterday, sometimes a year ago, or longer yet. Children often get confused, also, in their attempts to make a selective use of the words "to-day" and "yesterday"; not because of a faulty word-memory, such as sometimes causes them to substitute "yesterday" for "to-morrow," or the reverse, but because of a memory-illusion in regard to time.

IV. IMAGINATION (DIE PHANTASIE).

Perhaps the power of mind which enables us to beautify the homeliest things, and to transform every-day occurrences into something wonderful, flutters its wings (so to speak) before the reason is able to put the fanciful creations into words. One is often amazed

over the thought-associations which the child forms at a time when he is barely able to express himself in speech. The power of association and the power of memory are the substructure and the foundation-piles of the airy castles of the imagination. These are mental constructions which, however broad and high, are always based upon real experiences. Illusion and combination, supplementing each other, utilize as their materials the mental-images which past, present, and future supply, and melt or fuse them together, as it were; and the scope of this work of the imagination is infinitely wide. At no stage of life is the human being able to yield himself so unreservedly to the magic sway of the imagination as in the play-period. Sully designates the third to the fourth year of life as the highest point in the development of the imagination. On the one hand, at that period, everything is still new enough to the child to command his undivided attention, and he follows his instinct for investigation; on the other hand, his intelligence has been awakened to such an extent, through the environmental influences to which he has been exposed, as to be able to apperceive, and make some practical use of the impressions received. If one subscribes to the view that the work of the child's imagination is dependent on (determined by) the receptive power of his mind, one finds oneself in harmony with Herbart, who maintains that the imagination (*Einbildungskraft*) shows its strongest development in the seventh year of life. I think that such generalizations with regard to the working of the infantile mind are not of much value, for the reason that they do not take individual differences sufficiently into account. It should be borne in mind that the imagination is likewise peculiarly dependent, for the details of its development, upon the *milieu*. A child living in the country develops very differently from a child whose home is in the city. The power, the terror, and the beauty of the phenomena of nature—which the city-child has perhaps had no opportunity to observe—make a lasting impression on the soul of the country-child. The child growing up in the quiet of a village, invests the city—in his fancy—with enchantments that for the city-child have long since lost their magic charm. Also, more than one child, coming from the bustling crowd of a great city, and entering a forest for the first time, finds the aphorism prove itself literally true, "He cannot see the forest, for the trees." Here fairy-tales—with their dark, pathless forests—have given rise to an idea far removed from reality, and imagination has promptly seized the thoughts and embellished them. Imagination peoples the forest

with fabulous beings and monsters, with thieves and murderers, and thus prepares a fertile soil for fear. Are there not thousands of adults who are afraid of being surprised in a forest by darkness drawing on? In this they hold firmly to the old, long-forgotten childhood fear, even though they are unwilling to admit the truth of such a connection in thought.

There is not a single thing so insignificant but that imagination could lend it size and importance. For the child, imagination puts life into every piece of wood—to the boy a stick is a man-destroying soldier, to the little girl a stick becomes "a real live baby." All the poetry of the child's soul is rooted in imagination. Naturally, a sexually erotic (sexuell-erotische) note, too, makes itself conspicuous here. The little girl who rocks her doll or places it at her breast to nurse it, believes in the reality of her act. (It is what *she* thinks it to be.) She feels herself "a truly, truly mother," and she carries out all the measures for the care of dolly's body, with the same busy interest and the same tenderness as she sees her own mother do with a flesh and blood baby. The little girl does not forget to put into effect on her doll-child the scolding and the punishments which she herself has had to suffer upon occasion. Here, anal-erotism and sadism find a rich field for activity, in a positive sense as well as in the form of over-compensation. In the little mother's imitative house-keeping, the continual scouring and polishing, the over-industrious setting the house in order and arranging everything to suit her taste—these acts do not spring solely from a desire, on her part, for activity, but they must be recognized as a beginning of the repression of *forbidden* desires, of those longings which live themselves out, in their primitive form, in the game of "Doctor," and appear in phantasies under many different forms. During an autumn stay in the country at the home of a friend of his mother, my nephew, at that time three and a half years old, helped to dig up the cabbage-turnips. Suddenly he cried out: "Mammi!" (He called the lady by that name to distinguish her from his "Mutti.") "Mammi! Those that have dirty faces (=show bad spots) I shall place with the Popo (dem Strunk, the stalk end) up." Little Tiedemann,¹ at two years of age, gave a similar personal designation to the stalks of the white cabbage (Kraut). Scupin's² little boy loved dearly to peel boiled potatoes; for to him they were "little naked things" (kleine Nackedei), and for that reason they were objects of af-

¹ Tiedemann, *l. c.*, p. 37.

² Scupin, *l. c.*, p. 80.

tionate regard; his imagination evidently converted the potato-skin into a dress—as of a child—and endowed the potato with human form, thus securing, virtually, a chance to indulge in a nakedness phantasy. Imagination rules the life of the child so powerfully that he gladly contributes something of his own personality to the creations of his fancy, and he takes it very ill when people around him do not recognize this fact. Stern⁸ writes of his son, Günter: "In the case of our boy we noticed signs of the powerful influence of the imagination (Illusionsleben) at a very early age. There was a period (from two years and nine months to three years and six months, shortly after the birth of his little sister) in which, for hours at a time, during the day, he assumed the rôle of another person, and also assigned fanciful parts to other people. He calls himself merely 'big sister' (hosse (grosse) Schwester), but to his real *big* sister, Hilde, he gives various other names—'little Hester' (Schwester), 'Mize,' or 'Gettud.' His mother is 'Hossmutter' (Grossmutter, grandmother). On many days he is 'Muttsen' (mother), and in that rôle he takes care of his 'little' sister. The peculiar thing is that he carries out these ideas in situations of real life, too—at dinner, when dressing, etc.—and he is beside himself with rage if anybody wishes to correct his statements by giving the right names. He calls himself 'big sister' (hosse Hester) before strangers also. This fanciful self-deception plays a part even in his most highly emotional states. Although moved to tears, or in great excitement, he persists in holding to his phantasies, and this is true even for the hours of the night. One evening, not long ago, I heard him crying piteously in his bed, and in answer to my question, he complained disconsolately, that his little ball, and also the big one, had been lost on the Avenue. He begged that his 'grandmother' might go out in the morning with 'big sister' (himself) to find the balls; but he said that 'little Mize' must not go with them. How great his grief was over the loss of the balls is clear from this, that even the comforting assurance that a new ball should be bought for him was of no avail. 'No, don't buy a ball. *Find* the big ball and the little ball,' he sobbed; and yet with all his sorrow and wailing, he clung to the rôles as he had assigned them."

Sully mentions two sisters who proposed to play "being sisters"; and the "father and mother" game is just as ancient as that of "mother and child." Now the question comes: Why does the child literally live himself into the rôle of one or another member of the

⁸ Stern, *Erinnerung, Aussage, u. Lüge*, p. 104.

family with such intensity that he not only refuses to give up this phantasy himself, but also demands of other people that they shall respect it, as if real? I shall point out, later: in the first place, what an immense influence parents and brothers and sisters exert in the love-life of the child; in the next place, how an addition to the family seldom gives him a feeling of pleasure, since the little newcomer robs him of a part of the parental love; and finally, how each child tends to become envious of that parent who is of the same sex with himself, and how—by the aid of the creative power of imagination—he endeavors to secure for himself *in fancy*, and by way of compensation, certain results for which he longs but which, in reality, he must forego. When little Ernst Wolfgang Scupin,⁴ in his fourth year, said of his own accord: "But I shall put my papa in a soup-kettle and pour hot water over his face, all the time, with the ladle until he is nice and tender, and then I'll eat him up" the child gave expression to a phantasy of a sort that is not to be traced back solely to the fairy-tale of "Hänsel and Gretel" with the witch, but that voices the unconscious purpose of conveniently ridding oneself of "papa," the most dangerous rival near "mamma"; and the fairy-tale simply provides a cloak which serves to clothe the evil wish in harmless form. Little Günter S—, shortly after the birth of his little sister, began to play the parts of certain other members of the family in a way that was quite significant, now assuming the rôle of "big sister," now that of "mother." In short, since he had been thrust out of his place as youngest and most important member of the family, he took on (in fancy) the character of "mother" (who cares for everybody, and hence is very much needed), or he sought, at least, to have himself regarded as "the older sister."

In his play, where the power of phantasy makes itself so strongly felt, the child begins to show his interest in the difference between the sexes, and it is characteristic of him when he assumes a new rôle that it is usually that of a person of the same sex with himself. Boys, in particular, directly refuse to take either a woman's part or that of a little girl. This tendency should be regarded as indicating what a serious matter play is to the young child, and also what youthful ambition is striving to accomplish. He wishes to represent himself as occupying positions of no less importance than those held by persons who have some real or imagined advantage over others. For that reason, in playing war, the boy wishes to be a

⁴ Scupin, *l. c.*, p. 81.

"General," and will consent only unwillingly to be a common soldier, but if he must be the latter, he makes himself conspicuous, at any rate, through special courage or else through qualities which would bring him the reputation of badness;⁵ he prefers, for instance, to be a robber rather than a gendarme on pay. And, so too, the little girl would rather be "the lady of the house" than "the cook," and rather "the mother" than "the child." But whenever a subordinate part is taken, an ambitious child always learns to compensate himself therefor by indulging in imaginary excesses of one or another sort. In all such games the child wishes the semblance of reality to be preserved, and he insists on the constant recognition of this by his environment—to be sure, only while the game lasts. When from four to six years of age, my nephew loved to play with his aunt a game which he called "teamster"; in playing this game, however, he took the part of "express-agent," "station-master," or "building-contractor," while she, as the veritable "teamster," had to pretend to be a regular block-head, so as to give him ample opportunity for grumbling and scolding. It went very much against the child's will when the "teamster," having been treated all too rudely, suddenly declared he wouldn't stand that, he was going to the police to enter a complaint. "No, no! Aunt H—," replied the little rogue, "You mustn't dare do that. That's no way to play!" Little Scupin,⁶ too, used to take it very ill if his mother did not enter into his plan and accept his play-inventions the instant he chose to make himself, for example, "a letter-carrier" or "a merchant." At the centre of all these games a deeply embedded "cause" lies like a sort of core. For in thus playing, the child is able to live-out his hostile impulses toward his parents, brothers, and sisters without being obliged to fear punishment, as he can stop his play at any moment. Only in play does he refuse obedience; only in play does he speak against his brothers and sisters, beating and insulting them while dolls bear their names; and only in play does he gain the chance to exercise a tyranny which the traditions of the nursery would not tolerate. Indeed, if one or the other of his parents has recently drawn upon himself (or herself) a feeling of disapproval on the part of the little critic, he understands how to voice this criticism in plain terms in the "papa and mamma" game. But the child also has a chance, in imagination, to do good deeds, for the performing of which both the will and the power fail him in actual life.

⁵ Shakespeare's *Richard III*, Act I, Sc. 1.

⁶ Scupin, *l. c.*, p. 151.

A special place in the child's phantasy-life belongs to the festivals which are celebrated regularly in the family, and above all to Christmas with its measureless mystery and charm. For a long while the intelligent child, rich in imagination (phantasiereich), holds firmly to his belief in the Christ-Child, the Weihnachtsmann, St. Nicholas, and Krampus—even if at times he also boasts of his superiority to this fairy-tale lore. The supernatural, the wonderful, is such an essential element of the child's reveries that he leaves this sphere of thought only against his will, for unconsciously he feels that with the ceasing of the beautiful child-faith much of the poetry of life goes too. Goltz⁷ writes: "Upon the whole, I always enjoyed miracles better than I did the rational explanations of them—those explanations which, examined closely, in broad daylight, so to speak—led me further than ever into the thick wood; and I have seldom wished to annoy a person with inquiries concerning what I have felt, in my very soul, to be something miraculous." To the child the brightly lighted Christmas-tree is a live thing, a *living being* (Wesen) from another, mysterious world—and this would be so to him, even if he had seen ever so many Christmas-trees in the market the day before. When a child myself, I never could help being surprised that "very ordinary" people sold them. A certain little girl of six years begs earnestly that the Christmas-tree be not burned after the holidays, "because that hurts the Christ-Child." And for the same reason a boy of five years old refused to eat the little angel-shaped cakes from the Christmas-tree. "No, no!" he cried. "If I do, I shall have to bite the Christ-Child's wings off." As a result of this tendency of the childish phantasy to endow with life everything belonging to the Christmas festival, an impression is made of which traces remain even in advanced years. Poetic natures retain for themselves an unadmitted remnant of the old belief in the wonder-workings of the Weihnachtsmann, and show this in the warnings they are so fond of giving to the children not to touch the manger and the angel (Krippe und Engel), and not to regard the decorated tree—or the ornaments from it—as mere toys.

The work of the imagination is shown at its best in the child's power of living over the pleasures of the holiday season *before they come to pass*. All his life no adult ever forgets the secret doings in his parents' home at Christmas; the listening at the door, the excitement of the waiting for mother to return from making purchases. These are fore-pleasures for which the child has a great

⁷ Goltz, *I. c.*, p. 162.

fondness. My nephew, in spite of having declared positively, upon a certain occasion as early as in his fourth year, that he knew there was no Christ-Child, that the presents came from father, mother, and aunts, nevertheless did not fail, even as late as when six years old, to ask daily, at Christmas time, whether we had seen the Christ-Child and what he had said. Indeed, Max, of his own accord, prepared a notebook for the Christ-Child to read in which "Mutti" was obliged to enter her son's "good deeds" (Bravheiten) on the left-hand side, and his "bad deeds" (Schlimmheiten) on the right-hand side; and for every good deed done she had to strike out a bad deed. And if it happened that he did not want to go to sleep at night, then the question: "Is Maxi asleep?" spoken in the disguised voice of his great-aunt, always had a good effect. Invariably came the reply: "Yes, Christ-Child, I am going to sleep now. Good night, Christ-Child." Whereupon the latter had to say, in a soft voice: "Good night, Maxi." In the same way, from his third to his seventh year, his interest in the Christ-Child's "work-shop" remained constantly active; and rain and snow came to have, for little Max, anal and urethral associations of an erotic sort related to fancied operations there. It seemed to him a self-understood thing, that grown people should telephone to this mystic spot; and without our knowing the association for it in his thought, the number "VIII, 568" was invented as telephone-number for the place from which presents generally came. The telephone subdivisions were: (1) the Christ-Child, (2) St. Nicholas, (3) the Easter rabbit, (4) the Birthday-Man, and (5) the Nameday-Man. This is an up-to-date improvement on the time-worn custom among children of writing letters to the Christ-Child. The "list of wishes" also plays a great part in the life of my nephew. Perhaps this childish habit, especially when it is carried to excess, is to be regarded as the forerunner of the passion for making out catalogues, inventories, etc.—a practice which many adults affect under a sort of compulsion.

As the thoughts of children revolve about Christmas with special delight, so Easter in its turn forms a similar centre of interest for the imagination. In his subconscious self what child doubts the reality of the Easter rabbit? Scupin's Bubi⁸ makes drawings and clay-models of it, and hopes to meet it on his daily walks. He thinks of the rabbit as dispenser of small gifts, even after Easter has passed; and he attributes the fact that a hole was darned in his stocking during the night to the friendly intervention of the little

⁸ Scupin, *l. c.*, pp. 153, 210.

creature. The reason for this very lively interest in the Easter rabbit, on the child's part, is that through the associations connected therewith the problem as to the origin of living beings presses for an answer. With tears falling from his eyes, my nephew refused to eat the little Marzipan chickens and rabbits, because, he said (regardless of scientific considerations), "They are the children of the Easter rabbit."

The refusal of children to eat sweets shaped like animals or like human beings—a notion which occasionally passes over into its opposite—is so common that a deeper motive than that usually ascribed to it must be thought of as really operative; such refusals show that the child's mind, in bestowing the attributes of a person upon inanimate things, passes in feeling through the entire scale of love and hate. Kindly feelings, and cruel ones as well, are actively engaged in the production of phantasies; but the child often abandons his extravagant fancies for sound common sense when he is warned, for example, that whipping might hurt the little horse or the doll. "It does not feel anything; it is only wood" is the regular reply of sober reason, which, it is true, is likely to be suppressed again in the next moment by the imagination. A similar acknowledgment of the claims of reason appears in little Scupin's refusal when playing with his tin soldiers to allow those who had been shot down to have a victory, in their turn, over the enemy. "If the 'red ones' have already shot the 'blue ones' dead, then the 'blue ones' cannot get up and shoot the 'red ones.'" The infantile (*kindlich*) phantasy takes its own paths, and no path is too steep for it; imagination finds a way out in every emergency, but will not let itself be forced by another person's intelligence (*von fremdem Geist*).

(To be continued)

ABSTRACTS

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ABSTRACTED BY LEONARD BLUMGART, M.D.
OF NEW YORK

(Continued from page 120)

The third case he discusses is the little girl, who is noticed to be most precocious when very young. Sadger says that she flirted with him at the age of one and a half years. At one and three quarter years, as an evidence of her very strong attraction for her father, it was noted that when she received a photograph of him at the time he went on a long trip, the child was inseparable from it. She took it to bed with her, to the table, on her walks, etc., and showed it to everybody. From birth this child had urinated much and often. As a natural result of her father's experience, she was very strictly treated and often punished, all without avail. She urinated involuntarily every time she was frightened or punished. It was noticed that when her intense desires were not fulfilled, she wet herself in her rage. Her father noted that at the age of one year and ten months she stood in front of him and wet herself, and at the same time had the vacant look of a masturbating child—this in spite of the realization that she would be severely punished. It would seem as if the pleasure derived from this act was greater than the pain which came as a necessary consequence. The relation between the child's wetting herself and her father's trips away from home is interesting. A few days after her father's departure she stopped wetting herself. But on his return her bad habits reasserted themselves; in fact, if she knew in advance that he was returning, she anticipated it by wetting her bed the night before his homecoming. This child showed, also, very strong negativistic tendencies. At the age of three, it had not been possible to train her to sit on the pot—this in spite of the fact that, in default of obedience, she suffered corporal punishment. If she was forcibly placed on it, she refused to evacuate her bowels or empty her bladder, despite the fact of her enforced position on her nursery chair, with this end in view, for long periods of time. Immediately after being dressed or put to bed she soiled herself. Her compulsion-neurotic father kept a diary of this child, and by far the largest portion of this journal is taken up with the struggle of the

parents to teach the child to acquire "room and bed cleanliness." In spite of the most severe chastisement, this child refused to pass dejecta or flush the bladder, except at her own convenience and pleasure, and though coerced into sitting for long periods on her chair, remained obdurate.

The second child of this couple, at the time this paper was written—the last citation—was not yet a year old. At three and a half months the mother noticed that every time she washed the genitals, the child had an erection; the slightest manipulation in this region caused the child to laugh heartily and to show every evidence of great pleasure. In its twelfth month his mother was forced to acknowledge that he masturbated. He refused to urinate alone and asked his mother to hold his penis for him. This bad habit was only overcome by repeated corporal punishment. Attempts have thus far been unsuccessful to teach him to empty bowels and bladder regularly into the pot. An additional interesting observation made by both parents is the marked preference he shows for the mother and the perfectly frank aversion manifested towards his father.

4. *Analysis of Egmont's Dream.*—In reading Goethe's "Egmont," Robitsek is impressed with the dream which Egmont has in the last act, and his first conscious movement toward his head, to feel for the laurel wreath of which he has dreamed. Stimulated by the work Freud had done in analyzing the dreams of Jensen's "Gradiva," he thereupon attempts an analysis of this dream in "Egmont."

Robitsek dissolves the dream into its elements; shows its relationship to the thoughts of the waking period; interprets its symbolism; and reveals the latent content behind the manifest one. He discusses the effect of the dream in resolving Egmont's fears of his coming execution into fantasies of freedom and triumph.

Robitsek points out that the dream is composed of the elements which are present in real dreams: first, memories of childhood; second, unfulfilled wishes; third, the material in the conscious. Egmont's memories of childhood explain the contradictory character of the dream. As a result of his unfulfilled wishes, he beholds as fulfilled in his dream "the two dearest joys of his heart," the freedom of his people and the possession of his beloved. And the fact that the consciousness of actuality is still present is shown by the fact that Egmont's first motion upon awaking is to feel for his head, as though to make sure he still possessed it. For, though he is conscious only of the picture of the goddess presenting him with a crown, nevertheless the thoughts of his execution have been but imperfectly repressed.

Finally, Robitsek asks how it is that a dream written by Goethe can so closely follow the lines, the structure, and the content shown by real dreams. He states that it is probably due to the identification of the author with his own hero. "Egmont" is, in fact, a piece of that "Great

Confession" which Goethe himself admitted was contained within all his works. Egmont is probably a portrait of Goethe in a certain period of his own life.

Robitsek closes with the words of Wagner's Hans Sachs:

"Just this the poet's work I deem:
To analyze his every dream.
For all the truths from men concealed
Are in their nightly dreams revealed.
And that which we call poetry
But clarifies and sets them free."

5. *A Dream that Explains Itself.*—

"In truth the subtle web of thought
Is like the weaver's fabric wrought:
One treadle moves a thousand lines,
Swift dart the shuttles to and fro,
Unseen the threads together flow,
One stroke a thousand threads combines."

(Faust.)

I. *The Technique of the Analysis of Dreams*

At the request of a young lady—not a neurotic—Rank undertook to analyze her dream. He deems it worthy of publication, because it reveals its own meaning. In order to make this fact clear, he refers to a point made by Freud concerning the technique of the analysis of dreams.

Freud distinguishes between the remembered "manifest dream content" and the "latent dream thoughts" which are gained through analytical interpretation. These latent thoughts are subdivided into two groups: first, the unconscious, buried under strata of psychic processes; second, understandable thoughts which may be localized in psychic regions, and which in the theory of dreams are known as the "preconscious." To interpret a dream thoroughly we must probe into sexual wishes set aside in infancy but capable of renewal in a later period. But to get at this material, it is necessary to combat the psychic forces which tend to distort the dream. As regards the element derived from the unconscious, the development of the technique of psychoanalysis, with its resulting uniformity of conclusions, has made it possible to interpret that element with a great degree of certainty.

II. *The Dream and its Interpretation*

The dreamer narrates her dream in the following words: (The parts included in parentheses are her supplementary remarks.)

"I was in a king's palace as governess. The queen, an elderly woman, wearing a Chinese dress with a long train, was about to depart

on a trip. I had to leave the child (whether a boy or a girl, I do not know), in order to bid her farewell. To this end, I was supposed to lie on the floor, but did not want to do it. Thereupon she struck me in the face with a rod. Then I lay down, so that my nose touched the ground. I thought to myself: 'So this is the good position I have found!' And then she struck me, until it hurt. Afterward she extended me her hand, which I kissed. The queen then instructed one of her companions to conduct me, as a reward, into a (Chinese) lavender room, which was otherwise a forbidden chamber. As I entered, I was greatly astonished to think that I had not been so badly treated, since I was to have the honor of looking at the room. The companion told me that there were birds here. Suddenly I saw a magnificent bird fly in from behind and alight near me. He had a long tail, and bore himself in a proud, springy manner, like a wagtail. His color was lavender, like that of the room. Then I saw green oleander-like trees in blue vessels at the entrance to the lavender room. The sun shone. (Through this door-like opening I saw a garden and thought: 'Lord, if I could only go out into the garden!' But I didn't get there.) Meanwhile, the steward, a tall, thin man, had likewise taken leave of the queen, and was also allowed to see the room. The queen told him that he must wait until I had left. He wanted to come in anyway, but the companion said that she had to lock up first. Then she unlocked the door again and he came in. The companion—or chambermaid—received twenty gulden as a reward. Then the queen pointed out to me a pink room containing a pink washstand, whereas the first reception room had been yellow. I surprised the king, a dark, stylish young man, who was dressing. (I saw him first in the mirror, then in reality. He was brushing up his hair; it was still wet and stood stiffly.) He said, 'Pardon me, this is not your room. I excused myself and went out, thinking, 'The king is such a stylish man and she such an old woman; he isn't at all suited to her.' Then I met him again in the reception room and he turned toward me, as though he were in love with me—I also could have fallen in love with him—and said that he, too, was going away. (Thereupon, in the yellow room, he again looked into the mirror, as if to convince himself that he was pleasing to me.) Astonished, I said to him, 'So you're going away?' 'Yes,' he said, 'I'm going away.' The chambermaid had to pack the master's things quickly. Whether or not they went away, I do not know. I didn't see the child again either."

Rank informs us that the dreamer has for several years been away from home, supporting herself as a governess. At the time of the dream she was without a position. The dream is the fulfilment of her wish for a good position, in pleasant surroundings. It recalls also the fact that, as a rule, she could not agree with her mistress and was annoyed by the master of the house. A second wish, that of a husband and a

home of her own, is also revealed, for the king represents the type of man she admires. Behind these desires is the sexual "hotel fantasy," indicated by the entrance into a forbidden room, the sight of the king's toilet accessories, etc.

By the aid of well-established symbolism already referred to we can probe still deeper into the dream. The queen and king typify the girl's parents, the stern mother and the loved father. The entrance into a forbidden room by way of a reward is probably the distortion of an episode in childhood, in which the dreamer was punished for having committed a forbidden act. The fact that the governess must leave the child to bid the queen farewell is based on the fact that the dreamer, upon ceasing to be a child, left home in order to rid herself of her domineering mother. The departure of the queen is the fulfilment of an erotic childhood wish that her mother might depart and leave her alone with her father. Why, however, a girl should have dreamed of a forbidden room—which usually symbolizes a woman—was not clear to Rank until he heard the continuation of the dream.

The Dream, Part 2

"I was back home, walking in the fields. (I looked toward the railway station and saw a young man, H., coming from there. I looked to see whether he was really coming, but he remained standing on the same spot. Soon I was unable to see him any more. Then a lovely turnip field, with large, beautiful leaves, caught my attention.) I cut off splendid ears of barley and corn. I was surprised that the barley should be ripe ahead of the corn, when just the reverse is true. At the same time, the ears struck me as being unusually beautiful, full, and ripe. I put the ears I had cut off into my apron, so that I wouldn't be talked about, and went home. I passed the mill, near which a friend of my youth, Z., was emerging from the bathhouse. He took off his hat to me. He went to the field in which I had been. I wanted to prevent his speaking to me, for I thought: 'He is certainly going to look at the barley, and will see that I have cut off the ears.' (It suddenly grew muddy, a fact which surprised me, since it had not rained in the meantime.) As I drew near home, I met a girl, A., who stood in front of the door (and had a dog with her) and held something black in her hand. She asked, 'Where do you come from?' 'I was walking,' I said. Then she saw the ears protruding from my apron—a thing which did not please me—and said, 'I suppose you gathered those for your housekeeper's hens?' I said, 'Yes.' Nearby stood another companion, B. The first girl, A., said, 'She is also here from Vienna.' I said, 'Is that so?' Then she said that she was not on speaking terms with B., and I answered, 'I am also angry at her.' A. accompanied me a little farther. We passed B., who stopped me. (While we spoke to one another, A. had curled herself up near the gate, and was stirring the ground with a stick, pretending that she wasn't

listening to us.) B. asked, 'Where were you?' I said, 'Walking.' 'What have you in your apron?' 'Ears.' 'Was the corn cut, then?' 'Yes.' 'Then I suppose you gathered them together after the reaping?' I said yes, for I didn't want to betray the fact that I had torn them off. She had needlework in her hand. Through the open gate I saw her garden, which was very alluring to me. Then she asked me if I couldn't go home with her. I said, 'Yes, but first I must bring the ears home.' The housekeeper was glad when I gave her the ears and remarked that, as a result, the hens would lay fine eggs.' Then I was in my friend B.'s house; we were naked and fondled each other...."

Close inspection reveals the same elements present in the two dreams, though in different guises. The king is represented by the young man emerging from the bathhouse; the bird appears again as the hens; there is a forbidden garden in each; the bundle of ears corresponds to the queen's bundle of rods. The forbidden room episode, which runs through folk-lore (cf. the story of "Bluebeard"), symbolizes that act forbidden to children: masturbation. The forbidden ears of corn have the same meaning. The similarity between the words *ear* (Ähre) and *honor* (Ehre) is significant.

The dreamer's meeting with the young man refers to a meeting with her former fiancé in the summer preceding the dream, when she was visiting her home. More recent incidents bearing on the dream were the girl's admiration of a beautiful bird, the reading of an article on the Chinese, and a discussion on the Eskimo custom of rubbing noses. The fact that the dream took place on the night before St. Nicholas Eve (December 6) awoke memories of garments received from her mother. The dreamer feared that she would not receive a gift this time, since she had not kissed her mother goodby (cf. the parting with the queen). Rank points out that the governess' enforced position with nose to the ground is reminiscent of the punishment of dogs who are not house trained. The mud and rain mentioned in the second dream are manifestations of early anal- and urethral-eroticism.

It is significant that at the end of the second dream, the girl found herself in the same position as that in which she took leave of the queen. In the first dream the presence of her mother (the queer) thwarts her sexual desires. The absence of the mother in the second dream permits the fulfilment of these desires.

Freud tells us that dreams in which facts are reversed (as, for example, the ripening of the corn and the barley) have, as a rule, a homosexual significance. That this dream has such a meaning is proved by the following facts: The girl referred to as B. was known to her playmates as "the mother," on account of her physical development and her attitude toward other children. In childhood the dreamer had "played father and mother" with a girl friend or her young brother,

always reserving the part of the father for herself. She was also fond of wearing masculine apparel. The fact that in the second dream she conducts herself as a man explains the significance of the room in the first dream. Yet her womanly instincts reveal themselves in her attitude toward the men in her dreams. Her bisexual nature is further shown by the fact that she does not know whether the child (a personification of herself in childhood) is a boy or a girl. The steward in the first dream is her masculine counterpart. The reference to the Chinese has, according to Stekel, a bisexual meaning, on account of the braid worn by the Chinaman. Finally, thorough investigation into the girl's character reveals a two-sided nature.

III. *Theoretical Observations*

A dream is not the reproduction of one thought but—to quote Freud—of a “web of thoughts,” reaching as far back as the unfulfilled wishes of early childhood. The first dream (built up from recent events and daydreams of the future) is interesting in that it presents in distorted form the primitive sexual material. The second dream (the fulfilment of actual infantile sexual wishes) is interesting in that it points the way to the interpretation of this symbolism. The first dream, in which desire is thwarted, is known as a “fear dream”; the second, which fulfils desire, as a “pollution dream.” These two types of dreams are “the end members of a series, in which the dream life of man is enacted in the most varied stages and forms of disguise.”

Analysis proves that normal as well as neurotic persons have psychosexual constitutions and sexual experiences in childhood. The difference between them lies in the fact that normal beings can control these complexes without harm to themselves. In childhood it is difficult to draw the line between the neurotics and those who in later life become normal.

This abstract is of necessity short, and, therefore, does not show to what a marvelous extent Rank has worked out its details. It is without doubt one of the best and most complete dream analyses that exists in psychoanalytic literature. It occupies seventy-six pages. Practically every dream mechanism of importance is illustrated. A careful study of this paper in the original is earnestly recommended to students of dream psychology and to all those who have doubts as to the correctness of Freud's dream psychology. Here they will find ample proof for most of the theories set up by Freud.

6. *Fantasy and Fable*.—Between individual psychology and race psychology there are certain close relations, which permit one to apply principles derived from the first to the second, and vice versa. Laws regulating the formation and disposition of ideas, the development and manifestation of impulses, inhibitions, habits, character building, education, the formation of taste in the individual, are more or less exactly

applicable to the race psyche, appearing in such equivalent forms as: spirit of the times, will of the people, public opinion, custom, ruling taste, criticism, etc.

In his study of the connection between individual and race psychology the author has profited by the works of Dr. Riklin and Dr. Abraham on the same subject.

I. *The Functional Phenomenon*

Silberer distinguishes between the material and the functional phenomena. The former deal with the thought content of the dream; the latter with the manner in which consciousness functions in the dream. The functional are usually characterized by an explicable feeling, such as weariness, or ease, according to the manner in which the thought operates.

II. *Dream, Myth, Fulfilment of Wishes, Freud's Ψ -Systems*

The dream of the individual and the myth of the race exhibit corresponding elements. Every dream is important, for it contains suppressed thoughts, disguised so as to please the censor of the mind. The same is true to a great extent of myths.

Abraham has pointed out that, just as the dreamer is incapable of understanding his dream, so the race cannot understand its mythology. As dreams have their roots in childhood (the prehistoric period of the individual), so myths are derived from the prehistoric epoch (the infantile life) of the race. Moreover, the individual, in his development, recapitulates to a very large extent the life of the race.

Someone has remarked that the long sleep of children is an ontogenetic reminiscence of the days when men were seers and dreams were reality. What we do know is that children live in a world of fancy which adults cannot approach.

Man's unfulfilled wishes often take the form of supernatural power, attributed to prehistoric times. Similarly, most fairy tales begin with an allusion to "the olden days, when wishes still availed." The historical race-wish to be a mighty people is expressed in myths in which the national hero is descended from a god.

Silberer closes this chapter with a reference to Freud's Ψ -systems, which typify, on the one hand, elementary psychic forces, and, on the other, those processes which seek to unify and sublimate the crude forces. Speaking mythologically, the human mind, in its development, repeats the struggle of the Gods for supremacy over the Titans.

III. *The Functional Phenomenon in Fairy Tales and Myths*

The struggles which take place in the human mind are symbolized, as we have seen, in myths and fairy tales. Freud has identified the Devil as "the personification of suppressed impulses."

Silberer analyzes a fairy tale, to show that not only are folk-lore, myths, and fairy tales built up according to Freudian mechanism, but that a number of them reveal the mechanism itself. The story is as follows:

A king's son kills his parents and ascends the throne. Later he marries a princess, who gives birth to a daughter. Upon the death of her mother, this girl flees from her cruel father to a distant land, where she later marries the king. Her husband promises her that he will never harbor a guest without her consent. However, the wicked father succeeds in entering the palace, and causes the queen much suffering. At last the villain is brought to judgment and forced to tell his life history while bound with bands of iron. Every time he tries to lie the bands grip him. At the conclusion of his confession a stone beneath him opens and precipitates him into a kettle of boiling pitch, where he perishes.

The king's son (a strong egoistical wish) holds sway over his wife (the reason). At the death of his wife their daughter (the psyche) is in danger of being overpowered. Not being strong enough to combat her father, she flees (the oppressed thought isolates itself from the overpowering complex). She exacts the promise that a guest shall not be entertained without her knowledge (the psyche opposes the entrance of the displaced complex). The father succeeds in entering. As a result, the daughter suffers (psychoneurosis). Through the father's confession (psychoanalysis) she is released.

This tale, as most myths, contains a functional phenomenon, the phenomenon of thought repression.

IV. *Examples from the Domains of Fairy Tales, Myths, and Magic*

Grimm's story of "The Frog Prince"—in which the princess is compelled to take the frog home as her playmate—symbolizes a woman's disgust for the sexual. The prince who is delivered from his enchantment represents a freed psyche.

Enchantment reminds one of the compulsion neurosis, or of the disturbances of physiological functions in hysteria. The evil spirit, or witch, is in many cases a condensation of the idea of the sexual rival with that of repressed sexual impulses.

In Grimm's "Fairy Tell True," where the opening of a forbidden door gilds the culprit's finger, fear of discovery results in a psychoneurosis, accompanied by a compulsory attempt to remove the gold. The compulsion lasts until the suppressed element (the opening of the door) is brought to light through confession. That this story has a sexual meaning is proved by the fact that the girl's confession quenches the flames which were about to consume her.

Here it is the good fairy¹ who brings about the heroine's salvation.

¹ In the German version, the Virgin. (Abstracter's note.)

The god who rescues the hero of a tale is a projection of the hero's own soul; a fantastic "dramatic person," who is able to perceive that which the individual himself cannot perceive.

In many tales the heroes are given impossible tasks to accomplish. And these heroes are for the most part simple people or else children. The reason why children succeed in executing the impossible is that it is they who in real life come closest to the fulfilment of their wishes.

The fact that heroes often become kings or lords symbolizes the process of sublimation. The evil spirits never lend themselves to sublimation. They must be overcome by a magic sword (the will). They flourish in the dark (the unconscious region) but perish in the light (of consciousness).

A functional phenomenon in simple myths and fairy tales is the objective expression of feeling. Thus in the "Frog Prince" disgust is embodied in the form of a loathsome frog. Likewise, the mythological gods of light, storm, wisdom, etc., are projections of the inner life. The wanderings of the soul, seeking purification, typify the mind's striving toward harmony.

V. For the Comprehension of the "Mythological Stage" of Knowledge—Further Examples

Silberer points out that that conception is termed mythological which has been succeeded by a more enlightened view of the subject. Thus, at some future time, the ideas of our day will be termed mythological, in view of future knowledge. Those ideas which are not comprehensible appear to us in symbolic form. The symbol stands as an intermediary between us and the truth. The step-like progress of knowledge is ever working toward the goal of absolute knowledge. Mythology, in portraying a time when such knowledge prevailed, gives the race hope of reattaining this power. Here lies also one of the psychological roots of religion—religion which prophesies the return of man to his original godlike state.

The myth, like the dream, contains condensed elements. Just as the naïve dreamer never attains a full comprehension of his dream, so the race that produces myths never penetrates their inmost meaning. In every age learned men have tried to solve these hidden truths. We must not expect, however, that every myth or tale contains elements revealing religious conceptions. Some myths are merely the childish-mythological portrayal of a subject. But all myths, like dreams, contain a chain of thoughts, leading to a definite point.

In a subtle manner the heavenly, human, astronomical, earthly, and ethical elements are condensed in mythology. An example showing this dream-like mechanism is the story of the migration of souls.

The souls known as "damp" souls are lured down from heaven by

Dionysos, god of wine, who represents pantheistic nature as opposed to the oneness of God. The dark, damp earth attracts the damp souls. Their emotional life now resembles the restless sea. As the water produces living things from the dead earth, so the souls animate bodies which would be dead without them. (Fertilization through water has a sexual meaning.) They drink from the damp cup of Dionysos and forget their higher natures.

The sea denotes the underworld into which the sun sinks, in order to rise, refreshed, in the morning. Our spiritual sun, consciousness, likewise disappears at night, to reappear in the morning. Sleep may, therefore, be considered as the damp underworld of consciousness. As soon as the sun, triumphant, mounts out of the dark, the soul starts on its way to the light.

Mythology pictures the souls as having butterfly's wings. When they drop to earth, they lose their wings and go through the various stages in the life of the butterfly. Unaware of their godly origin, they change into a crysalis in the dark. But a drink from the cup of knowledge restores them to consciousness. After many wanderings and purifications they enter, new-winged, the Zodiacial door to the upper world and return to their homes.

The descent and ascent of the soul is a functional phenomenon. The ascent, typifying the feeling of freedom accompanying a climb into higher mountain regions, may symbolically be applied to the sphere of the psychic.

7. *The Psychoanalysis of Freud.*—Bleuler says that Freud's followers are charged with being actuated by emotional rather than scientific motives. Yet the very men who bring this criticism give evidence of but an imperfect understanding of that which they oppose. Overlooking the mass of facts upon which Freud has built his theories, they demand proof. But they furnish no proof on their side. They base their objections on esthetic and ethical grounds, which surely have no place in a scientific discussion.

Pansexualism

The most vehement accusations are directed against Freud's conception of the sexual in man. This is labeled, from the intellectual viewpoint, as nonsense, and from the emotional, as disgusting. Yet sexual desires are natural to all; they are the most repressed of the fundamental desires. Repression and hypocrisy concerning them are harmful.

Upon investigation, the great majority of symptoms attributed to other causes are proved to have a sexual origin. Of the hundreds of schizophrenic patients analyzed by the author, none was without a sexual complex. In most cases, it was the dominating symptom. Contrary to the inference of critics, the analyst was careful not to make any suggestion leading to the disclosure of the patient's sexual experiences.

Many objections to the sexual theory would be overcome, if the Freudian definition of the sexual were understood. The Freudian "libido" embraces all positive strivings, even such, for example, as the infant's desire for food.

Sexual desires in the child are evident to all who do not blind themselves to facts. Freud and Frank have found, through analysis, that as early as the fourth year, the foundations of a later sexual development are laid. Likewise, the much discussed "Oedipus complex," so revolting to critics, is an established fact.

The Mistakes of Normals

Many complexes are bound up with seemingly irrelevant thoughts. Bleuler cites as an example the case of a man who, in repeating a Latin quotation, could not recall the simple word "aliquis." Freud discovered, upon analysis, that this inability resulted from the patient's repressed fear that his mistress might be pregnant and so fail to menstruate.

Association Experiment

The same concept is colored, at different times, with different emotions. But analysts, versed in the methods of psychoanalysis, can detect the underlying complex.

That other persons have been unable to isolate the complex from its associations is due to the fact that they have not gone about the experiment in the proper way.

Interpretation and Symbolism

Facts regarding patients which are accepted when obtained through other sources are doubted when proved to be true through psychoanalysis. Yet through this method, the same fact is not repeated, but is brought forward in different guises, so that each time new light is thrown upon it.

Psychoanalysts do not claim the absolute certainty and completeness of every analysis. But since complexes possess almost stereotyped symbols, which reappear in person after person, the experienced analyst can detect these complexes with a great degree of assurance. Physical reactions on the part of the patient, such as alteration of the tone, blushing, trembling, movements of hands and feet, reveal much without the patient's knowledge. Thus, the word "yes," uttered in certain tones, can be interpreted as meaning "no," and vice versa.

Therapy

Psychoanalysis cures cases to which other methods are inaccessible. Every one knows that the outward expression of emotion—as, for

instance, weeping—has a soothing effect; that, on the contrary, the suppression of emotions is harmful. But when this principle is applied in psychoanalysis, its efficacy is disputed.

It is claimed that the unconscious, disturbing complexes are suggested to the patients by the doctor. Let, however, the patient follow these "suggestions" to the end, and he will discover that he entertained them long before the cure began.

Another argument against the treatment is that psychoanalyzed persons lose their purity of mind. Bleuler answers it by this question: Is it better to relegate one's repressed sexuality to the realm of dreams and neuroses, or to regulate one's acts in the light of knowledge?

Psychoanalytic therapy is still in its infancy; time alone will prove its test.

Criticism

Bleuler hesitates to criticize Freud, because experience has proved to him that those Freudian theories which at first seemed to him untrue or absurd were, in the end, correct. Moreover, many of his criticisms are levelled at individual Freudian scholars rather than at the master himself. That he should differ from Freud in minor questions is not surprising, since in psychological, as in many other scientific subjects, absolute certainty is impossible.

Bleuler points out the dangers of generalizations built upon insufficient proof. He is opposed to pathographies, such as those of Kleist, because of the incompleteness of the material at hand, and because these works are presented to a public unacquainted with Freudian theories. Similar studies of literary heroes also appear unsatisfactory to him.

Concerning Freud's sexual theory, the author is not convinced that infantile sexuality is much richer in autoerotic, somatic, and psychic material than later periods; nor that the unconscious processes revert entirely to infantile sexuality. Likewise, Freud's studies of wit do not appear to him thoroughly conclusive. He believes that the future may reveal a mixed etiology and show the relative parts played by sexual and other causes.

Historical Relations

The sublimation and repression of sexuality has long been known to poets and (at least the first of these) to physicians. Conclusions formulated by Freud had long before been apparent to Bleuler, as a result of his psychological investigations.

The conception of emotion as a quantity, directly proportionate to the energy possessed by the idea which the emotion accompanies, is not new. The transference of the same emotion from one object to another is likewise a matter of common observation.

Bleuler is not prepared to state the exact relation between sexuality and such processes as religious fervor, esthetic ideals, or thirst for

knowledge, regarded by Freud as sublimations of erotic impulses. He offers the supposition that scientific or esthetic urgings, primarily present, are strengthened by the influence of the libido.

The relation of fear dreams and other manifestations of fear to sexuality is not new to us. It remained for Freud, however, to point out that a sexual repression or frustrated striving provoked the fear.

Observation shows that unconscious processes influence our conscious thoughts and acts. Many actions which cannot be traced to outward circumstances prove, upon investigation, to have originated in the region of the unconscious. The unconscious is such an integral part of the psyche and has such influence on our whole life, that Bleuler does not understand the Freudian limitation of its origin to the infantile period.

In discussing thought association, Bleuler points out that an experience which arouses a certain affect for the first time creates that emotion for the whole life. Later experiences similar to the first call up merely modifications of the first affect. This creation of affective tones explains the tremendous significance of infantile experiences in later life.

Bleuler considers the Freudian theory of dream interpretation as one of the greatest aids to the understanding of the psychology of the unconscious. Yet the mechanism contains gaps which demand further proof.

As to the question of bisexuality, investigation has revealed homosexual tendencies in normal as well as in abnormal persons.

Resumé

Bleuler sums up his article in the following words:

"With the exception, perhaps, of the investigations of Heilbronner, I know of no attack on the Freudian teachings which is to the point. Most of them rest upon ignorance in theory and practical application of the psychology of the unconscious (Tiefenpsychologie). The attacks against the therapeutic methods are based, for the most part, on Freud's conception of sexuality, which his opponents unscientifically oppose with ethical motives. If the Freudian school has erred in the matter of exposition and argument, it has been greatly surpassed in this respect by its antagonists.

"The greater, I might say the fundamental portion of the Freudian teachings is based in logical fashion on assured facts, and must, therefore, be regarded as correct. Furthermore, much of that which, according to Freud's presentation, astonishes the public, is not new, but is merely used in a new connection. If one is well acquainted with the workings of the emotional element in our psyche, most of the Freudian mechanisms will appear as self-evident postulates. One has but to consider how great is their activity in reality. The rest of the Freudian

psychology is not nonsense, but disputable hypotheses, from which, in the future, much truth may be precipitated. That in the fine points of the entire school many details are problematical, too quickly generalized, or directly false, is not surprising. It would be marvelous if false conclusions were not drawn in this freshly ploughed field and in the unending complications of our psyche, as well as in every other sphere."

8. *Report of the Second Private Psychoanalytical Conference in Nuremberg on March 30 and 31, 1910.*

9. *Concerning Criticism of Psychoanalysis.*—Jung quotes a criticism of Freud's theories by Kurt Mendel (Neurological Zentralblatt, 1910), to show that such criticism is based, not on scientific facts, but on personal prejudices.

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